ERASMUS AND THE SPANISH INQUISITION:

THE CASE OF JUAN DE VALDÉS

by

John Edward Longhurst

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Michigan

Ann Arbor, Michigan
March, 1949

Committee in Charge:

Professor Arthur S. Aiton, Chairman
Professor Albert Hyma
Associate Professor Federico Sánchez y Escribano
Associate Professor Palmer A. Throop

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
Introduction	. . . . .	i
I.	Early Years (ca. 1500-1522) . . . . . House of Valdés. Juan de Valdés. Parents. Brothers and sisters. Jewish blood? Twin of Alfonso? With Alfonso at court?	1
II.	Escalona and Iluminism . . . . . First mention of Juan. Marqués de Villena and iluminists at Escalona. Iluminism in Spain. Francisco de Ocaña. Ruiz de Alcaraz. Alcaraz and the Inquisition. Valdés at Escalona. Influence on Valdés.	7
III.	Gracián de Alderete and Tales of Monks . . . . . Valdés leaves Escalona. With the court again? Gracián de Alderete. Gracián and the Valdés brothers. Letters to Juan.	18
IV.	The University of Alcalá . . . . . Student at Alcalá. The University. Erasmism at Alcalá. Miguel de Eguía. Juan's studies. Francisco de Vergara.	25
V.	First Clash with the Inquisition . . . . . Doctrina Christiana. Denounced to Inquisition. Alonso Manrique. The Examining Commission. Members. Juan with Alfonso. Juan defends himself. Hernán Vázquez, Carranza de Miranda. Juan de Vergara. Valdés wins.	35
VI.	The Valdés Proceso . . . . . Doctrina Christiana attacked again. Diego de Valdés. Procesos opened against Alfonso and Juan. Valdés proceso. Result. Fate of the Doctrina Christiana.	58
VII.	Flight to Italy . . . . . Escape from the Inquisition. Unknown years, 1529-31. Mateo Pascual. In Rome, 1531. In Naples, 1535. Juan refuses to return to Spain.	67
VIII.	The Spanish Inquisition . . . . . Catholic Kings and the Inquisition. The Suprema. Confusion of 1516. Suprema becomes independent. Complaints against the Inquisition. Ximénez opposes change. Charles' reform plan. Death of le Sauvage. Papal interference. Failure of reform.	75

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont.)

Page

IX. Erasmism and the Inquisition 95
Luther's revolt. Iluminists. Erasmus. His influence. Conference of Valladolid, 1527. Diego de Uceda. Emperor leaves Spain. Disgrace of Manrique. Persecution of Erasmists. The proceso of Vergara. Lutheranism, Iluminism and Erasmism. Decline of Erasmism.

X. The Doctrina Christiana 108
Influence of Erasmus. Was Valdés a heretic? Valdés' caution. The Doctrina Christiana: True Christianity; spiritual man; confession; tithes and first fruits; ceremonies and formalism; clerical ignorance; teaching of youth; recommended reading.

Appendix

I. Proceso of María de Cazalla 135
II. Proceso of Juan de Vergara 137
III. Diálogo de Doctrina Christiana 146

Bibliography 177

INTRODUCTION

The sixteenth century in Western Europe saw the establishment of Spanish hegemony in both the New World and the Old. While the strong arm and intrepid zeal of the conquistador was carving out a new empire on a new continent, Spain's "Great Captain" Gonzalo de Córdoba, supported by the peerless Spanish infantry, was driving the French from Italy and assuring Spanish domination of Europe.

The reverberations of Spanish armor throughout Europe were not unanswered. From Italy and northern Europe the new Renaissance thought crossed the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees to penetrate deeply the Spanish mind. In the fifteenth century the influence of Italian humanism on Spanish intellectuals was brought to the height of its expression by Antonio Nebrija, Spain's great philogist and man of letters. In the early part of the sixteenth century a new phase of Spain's Renaissance began with the conversion of a great number of Spanish intellectuals to the Christian humanist traditions of Erasmus of Rotterdam. In a few short decades the Dutch scholar became a virtual idol in the Iberian Peninsula, enjoying the enthusiastic support of the great reform cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros and later of the Emperor Charles himself. By 1525 the cult of Erasmus had become an underlying characteristic of Spain's Renaissance, and spread with astonishing rapidity among the educated upper classes from Oviedo to Granada.

If the rise to intellectual predominance of Spain's Erasmists

had been sudden and spectacular, their fall and dispersion was even more so. The flourishing Erasmist community of 1527 was in disgrace ten years later and virtually all the leading intellectuals in the movement either were in the jails of the Inquisition or had fled Spain for the more friendly confines of northern Europe or Italy.

Among those who had fled to Italy was Juan de Valdés, brother of Alfonso de Valdés, secretary of Charles V. Juan de Valdés spent the last ten years of his life in Italy, where he gathered about himself a group of followers to whom he expounded the doctrines of Christian humanism which had resulted in his flight from Spain.

Virtually every book written on Juan de Valdés treats extensively of his Italian career, classifying him among the Italian reformers of the sixteenth century. Such few pages as are customarily devoted to the Spanish life of Valdés are usually a compound of guesses and misinformation due largely to the lack of documents with which to report accurately his activities in Spain.

The present work has two main purposes: to reconstruct the life of Juan de Valdés in Spain, and to place Valdés within an intellectual framework which will explain his fate and that of many of his friends, and which will also provide new perspectives for an understanding of his later writings in Italy.

I

EARLY YEARS
(ca. 1500-1522)

> The house of Valdés is one of the oldest and most important of the Kingdom of Léon. . . From this family came Pedro Meléndez de Valdés, a Leonese Knight from the King's following . . . and don Rodrigo Meléndez de Valdés, mentioned by the Conde Lucanor in chapter seventeen, and don Fernando de Valdés, Archbishop of Seville and Inquisitor general of Spain. Others have held the high posts of Archbishops, Bishops, Inquisitors, Captains and Counsellors of peace and war. A Knight of this name and family, called Hernando de Valdés, came to settle in the city of Cuenca more than three hundred and fifty years ago, leaving houses, a Chapel and a rich inheritance. He had many children and from them very noble descendants, one of whom became Chamberlain of the Pontiff, and another who became Secretary of his Majesty the Emperor. Other descendants of this House have been Regidors and Deputies at the Cortes for the city, and have been among the Cuenca nobility, holding other high posts in the Churches of these Kingdoms and in the service of their Kings.[1]

In 1529, just one century before these words were written, Juan de Valdés, "Chamberlain of the Pontiff" Clement VII and brother of the "Secretary of his Majesty the Emperor" Charles V, wrote a short theological treatise which was to exile him from Spain for the rest of his life.

Juan de Valdés was born around the turn of the sixteenth century in the "very noble and very loyal"[2] city of Cuenca in New Castile, about

---

[1] Juan P. Martir Rizo, Historia de la muy noble y leal ciudad de Cuenca, Madrid, 1629, fol. 284.

[2] The title "muy noble y muy leal" was given to Cuenca by royal decree of 1465. "Impertérrita" was added to this title by a royal order of September 14, 1843: Santiago López Sáiz, Consultor conquense. Guía ilustrada de la provincia de Cuenca, Cuenca, 1897, p. 393.

ninety miles southeast of Madrid. According to his own testimony he was a Castilian brought up in the kingdom of Toledo and in the courts of Spain, and a fellow countryman of Mosén Diego de Valera,[3] whose service at the court of Queen Isabella[4] earned him a place among the notables from Cuenca.

Of the mother of Juan de Valdés we know nothing. His father, Fernando de Valdés, was obviously a man of some importance. He was regidor of the city of Cuenca and deputy for Cuenca in the Cortes.[5] In 1520 Fernando de Valdés renounced his post as regidor in favor of his son Andrés, probably the oldest.[6] His death ten years later evoked commiseration from Erasmus.[7]

Fernando de Valdés had at least five, perhaps six children.[8] Andrés, after taking over his father's post of regidor of Cuenca, remained in that city, outliving both Juan and Alfonso.[9] The second son, Diego, who

---

[3]Juan de Valdés, Diálogo de la lengua, ed. by José A. Montesinos, Madrid, 1928, pp. 8, 33, 175.

[4]"maestresala de la Reina doña Isabel" (Martir Rizo, Hist. de Cuenca, fol. 308).

[5]Ltr. from Peter Martyr to the Marqués de los Vélez, Sept. 31, 1520: "Legite prodigium horrendum [Luther's revolt] mihi ab Alfonso Valdesio, magnae spei juvene, cujus patrem Ferdinandum de Valdes, rectorem conchensem, nosti" (Petrus Anglerius Martyr, Opus epistolarum, Alcalá, 1530, ltr. no. 689). Also see Fermín Caballero, Alonso y Juan de Valdés, Madrid, 1875, p. 61.

[6]Caballero reproduces this document in ibid., pp. 287-291.

[7]Ltr. of Erasmus to Alfonso Valdés July 9, 1530, in P. S. Allen and H. M. Allen, eds, Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, 11 vols., Oxford, 1906-1947, VIII, pp. 478-9.

[8]For a genealogical chart of the Valdés family see Caballero, Alonso y Juan, p. 70.

[9]On his death Juan willed a considerable benefice to Andrés' son on condition that the son make a suitable marriage. See Benedetto Croce, ed., Giovanni di Valdés, Alfabeto Cristiano, Dialogo con Giulia Gonzaga, Bari, 1938, Appendix III, "El testamento del Valdés."

became a canon at the cathedral of Cartagena,[10] was censured by the Inquisition of Murcia in 1531 for having in his possession some of the works of his younger brothers Alfonso and Juan.[11] A daughter María[12] was the wife of Luis de Salazar. Alfonso and Juan, the last two children, were undoubtedly the most famous of the family.

The possibility that there was Jewish blood in the Valdés family is based on very flimsly evidence. Baldessar Castiglione, papal nuncio in Spain in 1528, wrote a violent personal attack on Alfonso de Valdés, scolding him for his anti-papal dialogue of Lactancio and accused him of coming from Jewish antecedents.[13] Bataillon suggests[14] that this might

---

[10]See Diego's will in Julián Zarco Cuevas, "Testamentos de Alonso y Diego de Valdés", in Bol. Real Acad. Esp., XIV (1927), p. 683: "Yo, Diego de Valdés, canónigo de la iglesia de Cartagena. . ."

[11]Below, p. 59.

[12]A Brief of Clement VII, Dec. 1529, reproduced in Bartolommeo Fontana, Renata di Francia, Duchessa di Ferrara, 3 vols., Rome, 1889-1899, I, 456-7 lists all the above named children of Ferdinand, as well as Luis de Salazar. However, there seems to have been a daughter Margarita, in addition to María. Alfonso, in his will, leaves 200 gold ducats to his sister María: "A María de Valdés, mi hermana, dexo quinientos ducados de oro por una vez." Later in the same will he charges his brother Juan with taking care of his sister Margarita: "En todos los otros bienes myos . . . hago mi heredero y universal heredero al dicho Joan de Valdés, mi hermano . . . con condición que sea obligado a mantener toda su vida a Margarita de Valdés, mi hermana" (Zarco Cuevas, "Testamentos de Alonso y Diego", pp. 681-2). Juan apparently carried out this provision in Alfonso's will, because in his own will he leaves to Margarita his property in Spain: "Margarita de Valdés su hermana a quien dexa heredera de la hazienda que en España tiene" (Croce, Giovanni di Valdés, p. 174).

[13]Pier Antonio Serassi, ed., Letters del conte Baldessar Castiglione, 2 vols. in 1, Padua, 1769-1771, II, pp. 182, 193, 201. Alfonso's letter to Castiglione, in which he defends his authorship of the Lactancio, appears on pp. 171-174; Castiglione's reply follows, pp. 175-202.

[14]Marcel Bataillon, Érasme et l'Espagne. Recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVI[e] siècle, Paris, 1937, p. 373, n. 3.

give us a clue to Juan's mother as the daughter of "New Christians." In view of the intemperate nature of Castiglione's attack, however, it is quite possible that the emotions engendered by the rage of the papal nuncio gave birth to a completely unfounded charge. Until we have more evidence than the unsubstantiated comment of Castiglione, Bataillon's suggestion about the religious background of Juan's mother remains no more than guesswork.

There is considerable dispute over whether or not Juan and Alfonso de Valdés were twins. The issue revolves primarily around the interpretation of the word "gemellos" in a letter from Erasmus to Juan March 21, 1529[15] and the meaning of a reference, in a letter of Sepúlveda to Alfonso August 26, 1531,[16] to the similarity in appearance of the two brothers. Menéndez y Pelayo, after summing up the evidence and arguments on both sides, concludes that the question will have to remain undecided since there isn't enough evidence to prove the matter one way or the other.[17] The question can safely be discarded as academic since it is incidental to the career of either of the brothers, especially in view of

---

[15]"Illud inter nos pactum esto, quotiescunque scripsero fratri tuo [Alfonso], tibi quoque scriptum esse; dein, quoties ille mihi responderit, a te quoque responsum esse, quandoquidem ego vos tam gemellos pro vnico habeo, non pro duobus" (Allen, Epist. Erasmi, VIII, pp. 96-7).

[16]"Rogas porro, ut ipsum fratrem tuum [Juan], si ad me venerit, non secus ac te recipiam. An ego possum aliter eum recipere, quem cum video, sive incedat, sive taceat, sive loquatur, quidquid denique aget, te ipsum videre puto?" (Joannes Genesius Sepulveda, Opera, 4 vols., Madrid, 1780, III, p. 108).

[17]Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos, 4 vols., Santander, 1947, III, p. 189.

the considerable differences in their careers and temperaments. Alfonso, a widely travelled cosmopolitan figure, is already an important personage at the court of Charles V in 1524 when we first hear of Juan as a servant in the household of the Marqués de Villena. While Alfonso's destiny is attached to the court of the Emperor Juan breathes the atmosphere of ilumminism and Erasmism at Escalona and Alcalá. Alfonso turns his literary talents to political criticism of the papacy; from Juan's pen comes an introspective theological treatise of a highly personal nature.

On Juan's career from his birth to 1524, we have no reliable information. Juan himself, in an apparent reference to his youthful days, comments ruefully on having wasted the best ten years of his life in palaces and courts, reading Amadís and other romances of chivalry,[18] a youthful delight which he shared with Santa Teresa.

In 1520 Alfonso, attached to the secretarial staff of Charles V, wrote his old master Pedro Martir, describing Charles's coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle.[19] Was Juan with his brother? If, as he says in the Diálogo de la lengua, he spent ten years in courts and palaces, this might be construed as evidence that he was with Alfonso at Charles' court during it's absence from Spain from May 1520 to July 1522.[20]

---

[18]"Diez años, los mejores de mi vida, que gasté en palacios y cortes, no me empleé en exercicio más virtuoso que en leer estas mentiras, en las quales tomava tanto sabor, que me comía las manos tras ellas" (Dial. lengua, p. 169).

[19]Ltr. No. 699, Oct. 25, 1520, in Pedro Martir, Opus epistolarum.

[20]Charles sailed for Flanders May 20, 1520 and returned to Santander July 16, 1522. See Manuel de Foronda y Aguilera, Estancias y viajes del emperador Carlos V, Madrid, 1914, pp. 169, 205.

Such a possibility is further strengthened when we note that in 1521 both Juan and Alfonso renounced, apparently simultaneously, their hereditary right to the post of **regidor** of Cuenca.[21]

Whether or not he accompanied Alfonso with the court during these two years it is very possible that Juan spent some time with his brother following the latter's return from abroad. Some time in 1523 Juan turned up as a member of the household staff of the Marqués de Villena, who was well known to the emperor and his court. It may be that the old Marqués, wanting a secretary, made inquiries of his friend the emperor, with the result that Juan was chosen on the recommendation of his brother. At any rate, he was not to enter a new and important phase of his spiritual development at the palace of Escalona.

---

[21] Varios, Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), Caja 50, núm. 7. This is a fragment of a lawsuit brought by one Alonso del Pozo, descendant of one Juan Rodríguez de Pisa, against one Juan de Valdés, descendant of Juan and Alfonso de Valdés, over contested ownership of the Regiduría of Cuenca. See fol 2r: "y para proballo presento vn titulo de Regimiento en cabeça del dicho Iuan Rodriguez de Pisa del año 1521 por renunciación de Iuan de Valdes." Fol. 2v: "y auérselo renunciado en confiança al dicho Iuan Rodríguez de Pisa el dicho año de 1521, Alonso de Valdes." This fragment was discovered and commented on by Amalio Huarte, "Para la biografía de los hermanos Valdés", in Rev. Fil. Esp., XXI (1934), pp. 167-8. Huarte gives as the reference number for the original document Varios, I-49-4. As of August, 1948, however, the proper reference is as given above.

II

ESCALONA AND ILUMINISM

It is almost prophetic that for our first certain knowledge of the whereabouts and activities of Juan de Valdés we must rely on an inquisitorial proceso in which Valdés figures as a member of a group directed by a man soon to be convicted for heresy. December 5, 1525, at the trial of Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, the wife of the accused presented a petition to the Inquisition asking that Juan de Valdés be called to testify in defense of her husband:

> The other day I petitioned your excellencies to be kind enough to advise me if Juan de Valdés, servant of the Marqués de Villena, had told what he knew about this business of Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, my husband, and if the matter had been taken care of, because I am sure he could explain the intentions of my husband in some of these matters. For this reason I beg your excellencies, if this has not been done, that you order Juan de Valdés to declare what he knows in this matter.[1]

A few weeks later Francisco de Acevedo testified that Juan had been living at Escalona about a year previous and had attended regularly the sessions held by Alcaraz among the members of the household of the Marqués de Villena; he added that in his opinion the doctrines taught on those occasions were hardly suitable for young people.[2]

---

[1] Quoted in Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, iluminado alcarreño del siglo XVI", in Rev. Arch. Bib. y Mus., VIII (1903), pp. 129-130. Serrano adds on p. 130, n. 1: "Por causas que desconocemos los inquisidores no citaron a Valdés para que declarase." Perhaps Juan had left Escalona and rejoined his brother at court by this time.

[2] Serrano, "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz", p. 129. Testimony of Acevedo on Dec. 28, 1525, summarized.

Diego López Pacheco, second Marqués de Villena and a powerful figure among the Spanish nobility,[3] had a long standing reputation as a supporter of Erasmian ideas. In 1527, when the Dutch humanist was under attack by the Spanish monks at Valladolid, the Marqués told Alfonso de Valdés how he regretted that he could not be present at the conferences to defend Erasmus against the calumnies of the monks.[4]

In addition to his fondness for Erasmus the Marqués seems to have developed a predilection for some of the doctrines of the iluministas, or alumbrados. Before 1523 he had retired to his palace at Escalona, "where he gave himself to the exercise of piety and to conversation with spiritual men. Somewhat inclined, apparently, to the supernatural, he enjoyed talks with the friars [Juan de] Olmillos and [Francisco de] Ocaña, whom he perhaps looked upon as saints, approving of their visions and prophecies."[5] In 1523, at about the same time that the Marqués brought Juan de Valdés to Escalona, he further indulged his interest in the iluminist movement by bringing to his palace Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, at a salary of 35,000 maravedis.[6]

The origins of the iluminist movement are shrouded in obscurity and its doctrines are almost impossible to classify.[7] Was it exclusively

---

[3]The Marqués had served as Captain general under Ferdinand and Isabella during the Granada wars. He had also attended Charles V on the latter's first trip to Spain. For a brief biographical sketch see Marcel Bataillon, ed., Juan de Valdés. Dialogo De Doctrine Christiana, Coimbra, 1925, pp. 219-221.

[4]"a monachorum calumniis defendere" (ltr. of Alfonso to Erasmus June 20, 1527, in Allen, Epist. Erasmi, VII, p. 92).

[5]Serrano, "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz", p. 6.

[6]Idem.

[7]For a brief analysis of this movement see Bataillon, Érasme, ch. IV.

Spanish? Do its origins lie in the teachings of the early German mystics? A student of the mystics of the Low Countries denies any relationship between the Spanish iluminists and the Flemish mystics, but suggests that if there were any Germanic influence in the Spanish movement it came from the teachings of Eckhart, Suso and Tauler.[8] Another, who sees similarities in doctrine between the iluminists and the Lutherans, is careful to point out that there is no evidence to demonstrate that the two movements were related.[9]

Extremes of opinion can be found on the question of the importance of the iluminist movement in Spanish religious history. One authority attaches considerable importance to iluminism because it "represents the reform movement in Spain, independent of the Germanic,"[10] while another dismisses the iluminists as "poor provincial devils, without a defined creed, without a literary history, without any guide which might give body or cohesion to the movement and systematize its content for presentation to the world."[11]

The iluminists were active by 1512 in Guadalajara under the leadership of Isabel de la Cruz and in Salamanca under the direction of Francisca Hernández. In the early 1520's María de Cazalla presided over a

---

[8]Pierre Groult, Les mystiques des Pays Bas et la littérature espagnole du XVI[e] siècle, Louvain, 1927, passim. Cf. p. 163: "Je n'ai point étudié Valdés."

[9]Serrano, "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz", p. 3.

[10]Ibid., p. 1.

[11]Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, "Erasmo y España. A propósito de un libro reciente", in Ciencia Tomista, LVII (1938), p. 571.

small group at Pastrana which included the town priest Gabriel Sánchez. Other groups were meeting during the same period at Cifuentes and Escalona.[12]

Members of the various groups communicated frequently with one another both personally and by letters. The unofficial head of the movement was the amorous Francisca Hernández, "of whom the men spoke with fanatical veneration and the women with not so much respect."[13] The members of the various groups didn't always get along well together; when they fell into the hands of the Inquisition they indulged in veritable orgies of denunciation: "Professing similar errors, they called one another heretics, and in their declarations before the Holy Office they tried to do each other the greatest possible harm."[14]

Juan de Valdés' exposure to the doctrines of the iluminists was the direct result of his employment in the household of the Marqués de Villena, who took an early interest in the movement. By 1522 Francisco de Ocaña and Juan de Olmillos were dogmatizing at Escalona under the protection of the aged Marqués, their listeners including most of the household servants, the castle governor Antonio de Baeza and his wife Francisca, and Sebastián Guitiérrez, chaplain of the Marqués.[15]

---

[12]Serrano, "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz", pp. 3-4.

[13]Ibid., p. 4. Francisca's erotic proclivities were not inconsiderable: See Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Francisca Hernández y el Bachiller Antonio de Medrano. Sus procesos por la Inquisición (1519 a 1532)," in Bol. Real Acad. Hist., XLI (1902), pp. 106-7, 109. See also Edward Boehmer, Francisca Hernández und Frai Francisco Ortiz, Leipzig, 1865.

[14]Serrano, "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz", p. 4. For a general survey of the iluminist movement and its repression by the Inquisition, see Bernardino Llorca, Die spanische Inquisition und die "Alumbrados" 1509-1667, Berlin, 1934.

[15]Serrano, "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz", pp. 3-4.

The activities of Friar Francisco de Ocaña at Escalona come down to us through the testimony of his friend Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz.[16] Ocaña constantly preached the need for reform in the Church and insisted that the present Church officials should be thrown out of office "like pigs." The passion of Christ, according to Ocaña, should be the main theme of all sermons; everything else was a joke.

Ocaña was also given to prophetic declarations. In 1524 he prophesied that Francis I would be dethroned by Charles V. Then he and his friend Friar Juan de Olmillos would go to Rome together and reform the Church. As part of their general plan of reform they would assign to Francisca Hernández the task of correcting the Bible, and the Marqués de Villena would be accorded the honor of seating the new pope, who would probably be Olmillos or Ocaña himself.

News of the strange preaching at Escalona soon began to get about. Some said the Marqués had collected a group of saints at Escalona while others said they were devils. Friar Andrés de Ecija was dispatched to the scene to find out just what Olmillos and Ocaña were up to. He did not have long to wait. While he was giving communion to Olmillos, the latter

> then went into a trance and began to talk as he was wont to do, and the Provincial [Ecija] ordered the friars to stop singing the Pange lingua so that he might hear Olmillos, and the Provincial wept to see him thus transfigured and to hear what he was saying; everyone stayed until he finished his sermon, and I [Alcaraz] felt as though dogs were tearing at my heart.

---

[16] The following information on the activities of Ocaña and Olmillos at Escalona is based on the testimony of Ruiz de Alcaraz at his proceso as given in ibid., pp. 4-5.

As a result of this performance, Olmillos was ordered to say Mass only in the cloister and to preach only to the Marqués de Villena. Olmillos, however, soon went to Madrid, where he apparently attracted a considerable following of people who were intrigued by his contortions and looked upon them as signs of sainthood. Despite this rather strange behavior of Olmillos, the Provincial (Ecija) refrained from taking any action against him, because, according to Alcaraz, those who listened to Olmillos might become annoyed and stop giving money to the Church. Some time later Olmillos was even elected Provincial of Castile. He died in Madrid in 1529.

Valdés' arrival at Escalona probably followed the departure of Olmillos. Iluminism had already established a strong foothold, however, and the vacancy left by Olmillos was soon filled by the importation to Escalona of Pedro Ruiz of Alcaraz. It was during the ascendancy of Alcaraz in the household of the Marqués de Villena that Juan de Valdés was exposed to iluminist teachings.

Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz[17] was born about 1480 in Guadalajara of descendants of Jewish conversos. He was one of five children — three boys and two girls — of a poor family in which the father was a humble baker. Although he had no formal schooling of any kind, he was well acquainted with the works of the mystics in current use, such as those of Gerson, Saint Bernard, Saint Bonaventure and the Imitation of Christ. In addition, he knew by heart a large part of the Bible and apparently his ability to

---

[17] See ibid., passim, for the career of Alcaraz, on which the next few pages are based. Serrano's article is based on the proceso against Alcaraz: Proceso contra Pedro de Alcaraz, vezino de Guadalajara, AHN, Inquisición de Toledo, Legajo 106, número 28.

comment on some of the more obscure Biblical passages occasioned considerable amazement among trained theologians.

About 1508 Alcaraz married Juana Suárez by whom he was to have two daughters and eight sons. Some eleven years later he turned up at Priego where he served until 1523 as accountant for the Marqués de Priego. In 1523, after a trip to Valladolid to confer with Francisca Hernández, he entered the service of the Marqués de Villena at Escalona, where he preached iluminism to the members of the palace household.

At Escalona virtually the entire staff of the Marqués gathered about Alcaraz to listen to his teachings. Meetings were held at the home of Antonio de Baeza, who had been among the followers of Ocaña and Olmillos. Francisco de Acevedo, commenting on these meetings later, expressed disapproval on the ground that the immaturity of the listeners such as Juan de Valdés made them easy prey for false doctrines:

> It seemed wrong to me to communicate such things to untrained persons like women and boys; and those whom I know he communicated with most were the Marqués and his wife, and Soria and Cuevas and Mari Angel, servants of the Marquesa; and Juan de Ayala and San Román and Valdés and Marquina and Noguerol and Çuritica and the widow of Espinosa, housekeeper for Pedro de Barrios; and I saw all these people, after they communicated with Alcaraz, in such a state that when they knelt they did not pray aloud or bend their heads on hearing the name of Jesus Christ.[18]

The activity of Alcaraz at Escalona did not escape the notice of the Inquisition, which had been gathering material on the celebrated

---

[18] Testimony of Acevedo Dec. 28, 1525, at the *proceso* of Alcaraz (*Ibid.*, p. 7).

iluminist since 1519. February 26, 1524, he was removed from the palace of the Marqués to the cells of the Holy Office. There he had an unhappy time. "They have me so securely guarded," he wrote, "that I have been locked in a cell for over fifty days, with a solid door over the bars at night; I am always in chains and in addition to my constant illnesses, which continue without letup, I had a fever for quite a few days and found no respite for it in prison."

One of the star witnesses for the prosecution was Nicolás de Embid, a fellow iluminist of Alcaraz.[19] According to the testimony of Embid, Alcaraz preached the doctrine of dexamiento, in which the will loses all its spontaneity and becomes a merely passive thing in a complete surrender of the human will to the divine. Concomitant with this abdication of the will is individual inspiration, direct communication of the soul with the Creator and lack of moral responsibility since the dexado cannot commit a sin when his decisions cease to be voluntary and proceed instead directly from God.

Alcaraz was also accused by Embid of having said that all our good works proceed from God and that man can do nothing for himself except to surrender himself completely to God and realize his own worthlessness. When it was pointed out to Alcaraz by one Alonso López de la Palomera that God had given men knowledge of good and evil with freedom to choose between them, Alcaraz reportedly answered that the best way one might exercise his free will was by electing to subject himself completely to God.

---

[19] Ibid., p. 4, note 1. The name of Nicolás de Embid appears in the Alcaraz proceso on a list of those who corresponded with Alcaraz and Isabel de la Cruz.

More comprehensive and damaging charges were levelled against Alcaraz by the Inquisition prosecutor Diego Ortiz de Angulo. According to the prosecutor Alcaraz denied the existence of Hell, he rejected the eucharist, good works, indulgences, papal pardons and oral prayer; he mocked confession as useful only for the ignorant, he espoused dexamiento, scorned the passion of Christ, joked about relics, scoffed at learning and insisted on reading and interpreting the Bible according to his own lights.[20]

Despite the seriousness of the charges against him Alcaraz stoutly maintained his innocence, and after three years of unsuccessful prosecution the Inquisition on July 19, 1527, decided to try torture on the unrepentant iluminist:

> And then they ordered him taken down to the torture chamber where they removed all his clothing except his chemise; and then he was admonished, in the name of God and the Virgin Mary to tell the truth about all the things of which he had been accused. And then his arms were tightened with a hemp cord and he was given twenty lashes, and being admonished to tell the truth he said that he had told the truth. And then he was stretched out on the rack, his arms and legs were tied and he was admonished to tell the truth . . . And then a light linen cloth was put over his face and a jug of water was poured in his mouth and nose and he was admonished to tell the truth.[21]

The more torture was applied the farther Alcaraz appeared from "confessing" to the errors attributed to him. Sentence was accordingly delayed two more years until 1529 when Alcaraz finally asked for mercy,

---

[20] Testimony of Diego Ortiz de Angulo Oct. 31, 1524, and Dec. 10, 1525 (ibid., pp. 11-13).

[21] Ibid., p. 128.

confessing to some of the charges against him. July 22 of the same year he was condemned to life imprisonment, which sentence was commuted ten years later with the provision that Alcaraz remain in Toledo and perform penitential prayers at regular intervals.

It is very likely that Juan de Valdés' residence at Escalona virtually coincided with that of Alcaraz. It is unlikely that Juan was at Escalona in 1522 as his name does not appear among the followers of Olmillos and Ocaña; we do not hear of Valdés until he turns up as a member of the household which grouped itself about Alcaraz in 1523. It is even possible that since Alcaraz was in Valladolid to confer with Francisca Hernández in 1523 he made some contact with Juan or Alfonso at the emperor's court, which spent considerable time at Valladolid that same year.[22]

Despite the arrest in February 1524 of Alcaraz, Juan probably remained at Escalona until the end of the year, since Francisco de Acevedo in December 1525 had told the Inquisition that Juan had been at Escalona until a year ago. It may be therefore that Juan joined Alfonso soon after the Emperor's court arrived at nearby Madrid in late November 1524.[23]

It does not seem possible that Juan's experiences at Escalona could have failed to exert some influence on his religious opinions. Certainly he remembered clearly his service with the Marqués de Villena when he wrote his Doctrina Christiana in 1529, since he dedicated this work to his old employer.

---

[22] See Foronda, Estancias y viajes, pp. 207-223. The court spent almost the entire year from August 1522 to August 1523 at both Tordesillas and Valladolid.

[23] Ibid., p. 246.

The problem of assessing the importance of the Escalona episode in terms of its effect on Valdesian thought is probably insoluble. Batail-lon, for example, is certain that Juan developed at Escalona the central core of his religious beliefs, namely that a spirit trusting in its own forces is incapable of justice. On the other hand he points out that there is no evidence that Valdés was influenced by the iluminist doctrine, although he might have sympathized with a certain independence of spirit and scorn for emphasis on outward forms which is common to all religions of the spirit and is not the exclusive program of iluminism.[24]

Serrano on the other hand thinks Alcaraz exerted a considerable influence on the religious ideas of Juan de Valdés and that Juan's experience at Escalona provided the basis for what Serrano calls his Protestantism.[25] He is supported in this view by Cotarelo who thinks that many of the ideas appearing in the writings of Valdés can be traced to the teachings of Ruiz de Alcaraz.[26] Montesinos detects both an Erasmian and an iluminist influence working on Valdés at Escalona:

> In that little court at Escalona are reflected the two most interesting moments of the religious life of the early sixteenth century . . .; the mystic exaltation of iluminism, together with the deviation, more or less marked, toward traditional Catholicism, derived from rigorous criticism of superstitious practices and ecclesiastical customs. In this atmosphere we first find the heterodoxist from Cuenca.[27]

---

[24] Juan de Valdés, pp. 43-5.

[25] "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz", p. 130.

[26] Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, "¿Quien fué el autor del Diálogo de la Lengua?" in Bol. Real Acad. Esp., VII (1920), p. 189.

[27] Montesinos, Diál. Leng., pp. XIV-XV.

III

GRACIÁN DE ALDERETE AND TALES OF MONKS

Juan de Valdés probably left Escalona during the latter part of 1524, some months after the arrest of Alcaraz. Possibly realizing that he might be implcated in the Alcaraz affair, he might have sought to avoid any such trouble by taking refuge at the emperor's court where his brother's position as secretary would assure him the support of powerful friends in the event of trouble with the Inquisition.[1] The failure of the Inquisition to summon Valdés as a witness at the trial, even when asked to do so by the wife of Alcaraz, might well have been due to a desire to avoid possible complications with the court of Charles.[2]

The likelihood that Juan de Valdés spent at least part of the years 1525-1527 with Charles' court is strengthened by a good piece of detective work by Bataillon.[3] From May 29 to December 10, 1526 the court adjourned

---

[1]Alfonso's standing with the Emperor was not inconsiderable. Thomas Cranmer, in a letter to Henry VIII Sept. 4, 1532, commented on Alfonso's death as follows: "a great infection of the plague, whereof is dead many of the emperor's household, and among other[s] is dead Waldesius, a Spaniard, the emperor's chief secretary, and [who] was in his singular favour. He was well learned in the Latin tongue, and partly in the Greek; and whensoever the emperor would have any thing well and exactly done in the Latin tongue, it was ever put to Waldesius" (Nicholas Pocock, ed., Records of the Reformation, 2 vols., Oxford, 1870, II, pp. 318-319).

[2]Cf. Cotarelo, "¿Quién fué el autor?" VII, p. 189. Cotarelo cites the petition of Alcaraz' wife Dec. 4, 1525, asking that Juan be called to testify on behalf of her husband and he then adds: "But Valdés had already left the household of the Duke [of Escalona] and entered the chancellery of the emperor, where the inquisitors did not bother to go, perhaps because they didn't attach enough importance either to the trial or to the accused."

[3]In Juan de Valdés, pp. 46-48.

at Granada and Santa Fé.[4] As the scene of Valdés' Diálogo de Doctrina Christiana is set in a Jeromite monastery near Granada on a hot day in June, Bataillon suggests that the dialogue was inspired by actual conversations held at this monastery between Valdés and archbishop elect Pedro de Alva who appears as one of the protagonists in the Doctrina Christiana.

In December 1527 the court was at Burgos[5] but Juan was no longer in attendance. December 23, 1527 Diego Gracián de Alderete wrote Juan a letter which indicates that Juan was corresponding with Alfonso at that time:

> Today, at the home of your brother the secretary, I read a letter of yours with great pleasure. The story about the Doctor certainly made me laugh; who could help laughing at such a story, regardless of how grave he might be? Your brother told me to answer you, repaying one story with another . . .[6]

Who was this Gracián de Alderete who enjoyed Valdés' story so much that he immediately sat down and penned a reply of the same type? Apparently Juan had met him at court, possibly some time during his recent stay there and the two had enlivened their friendship by exchanging stories with monks as the butt of their humor.

---

[4]Foronda, Estancias y viajes, pp. 273-281.

[5]Ibid., p. 299.

[6]See Bataillon, Juan de Valdés, pp. 48-49 for dating and quotation from the original. The letters of Gracián de Alderete, 87 in all, are in the library of the Duke of Alva in the Palace of Liria, Madrid. Six are written to Alfonso, four to Juan de Valdés. For a description of these letters see Antonio Paz y Melia, "Otro erasmista español: Diego Gracián de Alderete," in Rev. Arch. Bib. y Mus., V (1901), p. 625, n. 1.

Diego Gracián of Alderete[7] was the son of Diego García, who had been chief armourer to Ferdinand and Isabella. He studied eight years at Paris and Louvain[8] where Luis Vives taught him languages and other matters of erudition.[9] After a brief period of service at the court of Margaret of Austria at Malines he returned to Spain where he took a post at the Emperor's court, obtained for him through the influence of his friend Alfonso de Valdés.[10] He later served other masters, among them the Marqués de Elche in Valladolid and Francisco de Mendoza, Bishop of Zamora, ultimately returning to the court of the Emperor where he became secretary and interpreter for both Charles V and Philip II. He translated into Spanish many of the Greek and Latin classics such as the Apophthegmata (Alcalá, 1533) and the Moralia (Alcalá, 1548) of Plutarch, the Officia (Toledo, 1534) of Ambrose and various works of Xenophon, Thucydides and Isocrates.[11]

Although he grew more conservative with age, in his youth Gracián

---

[7]For biographical data on Gracián see Paz y Melia, "Otro erasmista", and Allen, Epist. Erasmi, VII, p. 265.

[8]Paz y Melia, "Otro erasmista", p. 29. In his (undated) letters to Cardinal Tavera and Diego de Córdoba, Gracián states that he spent eight years in the studies of Paris and Louvain.

[9]Ibid., p. 28. Paz y Melia suggests that his name might have been latinized at Louvain from García to Gratianus, hence Gracián, but admits that this is not a satisfactory explanation.

[10]Ibid., p. 29. Paz y Melia estimates that this was probably before 1530. Judging from the contents of Gracián's letter to Juan on Dec. 23, 1527, in which he refers to his having been that same day at Alfonso's home, Gracián was attached to the Emperor's court as early as 1527.

[11]Allen, Epist. Erasmi, VII, p. 265.

was an active Erasmist and critic of monasticism. He translated some of the works of the Dutch humanist and persuaded many learned Spaniards to establish letter contact with Erasmus.[12] Gracián himself corresponded with a considerable number of Erasmists in Spain, among them Juan and Alfonso de Valdés, Juan and Francisco de Vergara and Alonso Manrique, Archbishop of Seville and Inquisitor general.[13]

Gracián's relations with Alfonso de Valdés were very close. He wrote that he looked on Alfonso as an older brother and always followed his advice without the slightest deviation.[14] Whereas he discussed literary questions with Alfonso he and Juan exchanged humorous tales at the expense of the monks.[15]

The exchange of stories between Gracián and Juan de Valdés was a regular practice. On one occasion when Gracián wrote Juan without including a monkish story in his letter he apologized for his failure to do so, excusing himself with a dig at the monks:

> Perhaps it surprises you that I dare write you a letter without telling you some little story. Well don't be displeased because after dinner I confessed to a Franciscan and I'm afraid that if I say something against the friars they will make me sing a palinode.[16]

Juan was an able and willing correspondent who gave as good as he

---

[12] Paz y Melia, "Otro erasmista", p. 125.

[13] Ibid., p. 625, n. 1. Latin letters to these persons are included in the collection of Gracián's letters in the library of the Duke of Alva.

[14] Ibid., p. 29.

[15] Ibid., p. 127, n. 1.

[16] Ibid., p. 129.

received from his friend Gracián. Writing to Francisco de Vergara Gracián acknowledged Juan's superiority as a teller of such stories; at the same time his letter indicates to us that Vergara participated in this activity with the two friends and had a good stock of stories himself:

> You, who have such an abundant stock of jokes, might write me; especially since you have with you Juan Valdés, who is inferior to no one on this score. These are certainly not the times for such things; but so that you won't fine me, here is my story:
>
> Last Sunday I spent the afternoon with some Bernardine friars and one of them, draining a jug of wine that had tasted especially good, exclaimed: ¡Hiesus, quomodo scit![17]

This levity at the expense of the monks started at least as early as December 1527 when Gracián wrote two letters from Burgos, where the court was then stopping.[18] December 13, unable to restrain his impulse to insult the friars, he wrote Juan:

> I think we can reverse the order, especially since you have delayed so long in replying and since I can't keep quiet about what I think of the friars . . .
>
> Some days ago a certain friar of the Order of Saint . . . [Ms. destroyed by fire here] to ask alms of a canon of Palencia. The latter, believing it would be for some pious purpose, gave him a silver coin. The friar left and the canon ordered a servant to follow him. The friar went directly to the fish market and taking out another coin which he had probably acquired in the same manner, he bought with the two coins a fine eel which he took to the pastry shop to have prepared. The servant returned and told his master what he had seen and the master ordered him to return and keep his eye on the friar until he saw an end of

---

[17]Gracián to Francisco de Vergara in ibid., p. 131. The letter is dated April 1529 by Bataillon, Juan de Valdés, p. 52, n. 1.

[18]Foronda, Estancias y viajes, p. 299.

the matter. The friar took the prepared eel and went into the house of a certain very pretty widow, leaving the door open so that anyone who came in wouldn't get the wrong idea. The servant returned again to recount what he had witnessed and now the canon, guided by his servant, marched straightway to the house, entered directly into the room where the friar and the widow were eating the eel and in the most natural fashion — wag that he was — drew up a chair and sat down at the table saying: Since I have paid for it, if you don't mind I'm going to take part in the feast.

There you have the joke which was told to me by a reliable informant. Now I'll tell you one which I heard with my own ears. On the outskirts of this city is a Benedictine monastery consecrated to Saint John; sometimes, for distraction, I walk by the garden. There I was, as usual, some days ago, when looking through the cracks in the walls I saw a large group of friars who were sunning themselves. Suddenly one of them shouted at the top of his lungs: ¡If only we each had a cute little nun beside us to amuse us!

That's all there is for now. Now it's your turn to reply as soon as possible.[19]

Valdés complied without delay. Ten days later Gracián read a letter to Alfonso from Juan with a story which amused him greatly. He wrote Juan the same day with another story from his extensive repertoire:

> I think you're acquainted with the name of the Archdeacon of Alcor [Alonso Fernández], who translated Erasmus' Enchiridion into Spanish [in 1526]. Even the children know about the hatred raised against both the author and the translator and I'm sure that if they could the friars would devour them both. One of them, a Franciscan, was delivering a sermon in a town near Palencia; after a few introductory remarks he began to hurl thunderbolts against Erasmus (hardly a new practice for the friars), filling his audience with horror at the thought of reading the works of Erasmus.

---

[19] Paz y Melia, "Otro erasmista", pp. 129-130. The letter which follows this (pp. 130-131), written ten days later, is dated Dec. 23, 1527 by Bataillon, Juan de Valdés, p. 49, n. 2 and by Allen, Epist. Erasmi, VI, p. 497.

> What do they expect, he shouted, those who are always carrying about the chirrión or the chicharrón[20] of Erasmus and who read it constantly in their gatherings and even in the streets? Don't they know that a few days ago the earth suddenly opened up and swallowed the Archdeacon of Alcor, the one who translated the Enchiridion of Erasmus?
>
> No one doubted that such a thing had happened. However, the next day the tax collector passed through town and he explained the text of the Franciscan's sermon as follows: There is little doubt that the earth opened suddenly and swallowed up the Archdeacon of Alcor, in order to get him away from the wretched breed of friars; but he was vomited up in Palencia, where I saw him yesterday safe and sound.[21]

This exchange of stories between the two friends lasted several years. In 1528 they were still corresponding.[22] Gracián's letter of April 1529 to Francisco de Vergara[23] indicates that all three men were actively engaged in this activity, although Gracián was beginning to realize that such story telling might soon become dangerous. The correspondence between Gracián and Valdés continued, however, until as late as July 1529,[24] shortly before Juan deemed it prudent to leave Spain for the more friendly shores of Italy. From this time on the careers of the two friends diverged, Valdés spending the rest of his life abroad in self-imposed exile while Gracián remained in Spain to become an important figure in the imperial menages of Charles V and Philip II.[25]

---

[20] A rather scurrilous play on words: chirrión -- dung heap; chicharrón -- fried meat scraps.

[21] Gracián to Juan de Valdés Dec. 23, 1527, in Paz y Melia, "Otro erasmista", pp. 130-131. The Latin version appears in Allen, Epist. Erasmi, VI, p. 497. The first paragraph of this letter is quoted above, p.19, n. 6.

[22] June 1528, in a letter to Francisco de Vergara, Gracián enclosed a letter for Juan: Bataillon, Juan de Valdés, p. 50, n. 1.

[23] Above, p.22 .

[24] Ltr. of Gracián to Juan July 1, 1529, in ibid., p. 59, n. 1.

[25] Gracián was knighted by Charles in 1539.

IV

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALCALÁ

It has already been noted that Juan was not with his brother at court in December 1527; it was probably at about this time that Juan came to the University of Alcalá de Henares, where he studied from late 1527 to the middle of 1529.

Unfortunately the matriculation registers of Alcalá for this period are lost, so we do not know exactly when Juan entered the university nor what he studied there. Nor does his name appear on the register of students in the school of Theology and Liberal Arts for this period, which indicates that he did not follow a regular theological program there as did many of his countrymen.[1]

Although Juan's name does not appear on any of the extant lists of Alcalá students of this period, we do have evidence of his being in attendance at the university. February 12, 1532, at the trial of Juan de Vergara, Alonso Sánchez of the University of Alcalá referred to the Doctrina Christiana, written by Valdés, a student at the university: " . . . a book of Christian doctrine written by one Valdés a student from Cuenca according to what they say."[2]

A few months later María de Cazalla, testifying before the Inquisition

---

[1] See Juan Urriza, La preclara facultad de artes y filosofía de la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares en el siglo de oro, Madrid, 1941, p. 243.

[2] Proceso de Juan de Vergara, AHN, Inquisición de Toledo, Leg. 223, núm. 42, fol. 181r.

at her own trial, was asked if she knew who had written the Doctrina Christiana. She replied that she had heard that the author was one Valdés, a student at Alcalá: "Asked if she knows who wrote the said book of Christian doctrine she said she had heard that one Valdés who was studying at Alcalá had done it."[3]

Gracián de Alderete's letter of June 1528 to Francisco de Vergara, in which he encloses a letter for Juan, indicates that the latter was then studying at Alcalá where Vergara was professor of Greek. Another letter of Gracián to Vergara in April 1529 and a letter of Gracián to Juan three months later[4] indicate that Juan was still at Alcalá in the company of Vergara. His studies at the university may therefore be estimated to have begun in late 1527 or early 1528, lasting at least through July 1529.

The University of Alcalá, founded just a few years previously as part of the general religious reform movement instituted by Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros,[5] was the home of the famous Complutensian Polyglot Bible and a great center for Erasmian reform. The center of the university was the Colegio Mayor de San Ildefonso with its church, the Iglesia de San Justo y Pastor, rebuilt and incorporated with the Colegio

---

[3] Proceso de María de Cazalla, AHN, Madrid, Inquisición de Toledo, Legajo 110, núm. 21, fol. 33v. (testimony of María de Cazalla June 7, 1532).

[4] Above, pp. 22, 24.

[5] For a good description of the university as it was in Juan's day see Pedro de Medina, Libro de Grandezas y cosas memorables de España, Alcalá, 1548, fol. 89.

of San Ildefonso by Ximénez.[6] The university, as conceived by Ximénez, also included the Colegio de la Madre de Dios for theological studies, the Colegio de San Gerónimo for language study, three colleges for arts and two for grammar.[7] Instruction was offered in the arts (logic, natural philosophy and metaphysics), in theology, medicine, canon law, grammar and languages, including Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldean.[8]

The intellectual atmosphere at Alcalá must have been very much to Juan's liking. Dr. Carrasco, who held the chair of Thomistic theology, seems to have been more interested in the teachings of Erasmus than in the words of the Angelic Doctor; nor did his students object:

> The father Friar Pedro de Alcala . . . said that St. Thomas has been neglected for some time and that [Carrasco] in his last four or five lessons has read more of the propositions of Erasmus than of St. Thomas and that if he goes on in this fashion he [Pedro de Alcalá] will have no complaint.[9]

Carrasco was not the only representative of Erasmism at Alcalá

---

[6]Baltasar Porreño, Dos tratados históricos tocantes al Cardenal Ximénez de Cisneros, Madrid, 1918, p. 110; Urriza, Preclara facultad, p. 44. Nebrija and Ximénez were buried in this church: Medina, Libro de Grandezas, fol. 89.

[7]Porreño, Dos tratados, p. 109.

[8]Antonío de la Torre y del Cerro, "La Universidad de Alcalá. Datos para su historia. Cátedras y catedráticos desde la inauguración del Colegio de San Ildefonso hasta San Lucas de 1519", in Rev. Arch. Bib. y Mus., XXI, pp. 50-51. The only law taught at Alcalá in Valdés' day was canon law. The great centers for civil law were the universities of Salamanca and Valladolid.

[9]Testimony of Fray Pedro de Alcalá, Nov. 1527, AHN, Madrid (Univ. de Alcalá, Visitas de cátedras), Lib. 1222, fol. 262v, quoted in Bataillon, Juan de Valdés, p. 55, n. 1.

during Juan's stay there. Spanish Erasmism had at Alcalá a group of followers even more extensive than those of the court of Charles V. It was a rallying point for Juan and Francisco de Vergara and their half brother Bernardino Tovar, who was soon to be imprisoned by the Inquisition. Juan de Vergara, who had worked on the Polyglot Bible brought to the support of Erasmism the prestige of his learning and his position as secretary to Alonso Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo. Francisco, a Hellenist by profession and a devotee of the Christian humanism of Erasmus, had prepared a Greek chrestomathy which might have been used by Juan de Valdés.[10]

In 1528 the Erasmist movement at Alcalá was probably at its height, with a close tieup between the scholars at Alcalá and their like minded friends at the court of Charles V lending an added impetus to the whole movement. That year the Emperor's court was in Madrid where Francisco de Vergara went to recover from a recent illness. There he renewed contact with fellow Erasmists like Alfonso de Valdés and Gracián de Alderete. Like the Vergaras the Valdés brothers formed a strong link between the court and the university, with Alfonso as secretary to the Emperor and his brother Juan a student at the University of Alcalá.[11]

This intellectual trend among the personalities at Charles' court and the scholars of the University of Alcalá was reflected in and quickened by the work of the university printer, Miguel de Eguía, to

---

[10] Bataillon, Juan de Valdés, pp. 55-57.

[11] Bataillon, Érasme, p. 371.

whom Juan de Valdés was to entrust the printing of his Doctrina Christiana in 1529 and who, along with Valdés, Tovar and Juan de Vergara, was to feel the wrath of the Inquisition.

Miguel de Eguía's career as a printer at Alcalá covered the years 1521 to 1538.[12] By 1524 when the presses of his predecessor at Alcalá, Arnaldo Guillermo de Brocar, ceased to function, Eguía proved a worthy successor as the leading printer of the town.[13] The printer obviously fit in well with the Erasmists around Alcalá. In the spring of 1525 Spain's first Latin version of the Enchiridion came off Eguía's press, to the great satisfaction of the Dutch humanist's admirers at Alcalá who had eagerly sought its publication.[14] A few months later Eguía published, with a dedication to Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo, Erasmus' Paraphrases of the first four Gospels.[15]

At the same time that his presses were turning out a series of impressions of the works of Erasmus, Miguel de Eguía appeared among the

---

[12]Juan García López, Ensayo de una tipografía complutense, Madrid, 1889, p. 613; Clara L. Penney, List of Books Printed 1601-1700 in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1938, pp. 713-714. Penney gives the dates 1520-1538 for Eguía's career at Alcalá. During this period Eguía also maintained a press at Toledo, from 1526 to 1528 (Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, La imprenta en Toledo. Descripción bibliográfica de las obras impresas en la imperial ciudad desde 1483 hasta nuestros días, Madrid, 1887, Introduction, p. XIX).

[13]Urriza, Preclara facultad, p. 276: "The artistic perfection of Brocar lost nothing in the hands of Miguel de Eguía."

[14]Dámaso Alonso, ed., Erasmo. El Enquiridión o Manual del Caballero Christiano, Madrid, 1932; see Prologue by Bataillon, p. 17. Eguía published a second impression of this same work in June 1527 (ibid., p. 23).

[15]Ibid., p. 17.

iluminist coterie gathered about the Admiral of Castile at Medina de Rioseco in a situation closely parallel to that of Juan de Valdés at the palace of the Marqués de Villena at Escalona.

In 1525 Fadrique Enríquez, Admiral of Castile, a high figure in Spain with a reputation as a great patron of letters,[16] conceived, with the iluminist Juan López, a plan for the evangelizing of his estates. For this purpose he entrusted to López the task of recruiting clerics at the salary rate of 20,000 maravedis yearly. López recruited a group of followers from around Toledo and Alcalá, among them the printer Miguel de Eguía. Although the Admiral gave up this project, he never lost interest in the iluminist movement.[17]

Eguía's activities were ultimately to attract the unfavorable notice of the Holy Office. In November 1531 he was jailed by the Inquisition[18] and had apparently "confessed" by December first.[19] His

---

[16]It is interesting to note the description of D. Fadrique by Menéndez y Pelayo, whose attitude is usually quite unfriendly when he writes about anyone mixed up with any movements that smack of unorthodoxy: "Admirable type of great Castilian gentleman, deeply religious without the slightest affectation, full of integrity and dignity in his relations with the King, generous and merciful toward the conquered, intrepid in the field, prudent in council, gay and free in his speech, graceful and elegant in words and deeds, cultured in studies and tastes, protector and Maecenas of all the literature of his day" (Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Juan Boscán. Estudio crítico, Madrid, 1908, p. 251). One suspects that M. y Pelayo didn't know about the Admiral's dealings with the iluminists.

[17]Bataillon, Érasme, pp. 197-199.

[18]Vergara proceso, fol. 22v: Nov. 8, 1531, mention is made of "Miguel de Eguía, whose imprisonment has been ordered." The proceso of Eguía is lost.

[19]Ibid., fol. 3v: Dec. 1, 1530, the fiscal speaks of "the confession of Miguel de Guía [sic]."

unorthodoxy was affirmed by Francisca Hernández in 1530[20] and by Diego Hernández two years later.[21] Eguía was not convicted of heresy however, but was set free some time around June 1533.[22]

Such was the general atmosphere in which Juan pursued his studies at the University of Alcalá. Just what course of studies he pursued we do not know. Many of the old biographers indicate that Juan studied law,[23] which mistake is repeated by Caballero.[24] This is obviously impossible since the only law taught at Alcalá was canon law. The teaching of civil law was prohibited on the ground that the universities of Salamanca and Valladolid already offered study in that field.[25]

Although the University of Alcalá was established by Ximénez with the primary purpose of teaching theology Juan did not follow a regular course of theology and liberal arts.[26] Nor is there any evidence to support the supposition that he specialized in canon law at Alcalá.[27]

---

[20] Ibid., fols. 70v-71r: denunciation by Francisca of a group of persons, including Miguel de Eguía. See also the Cazalla proceso, fol. 14v, where Francisca denounces as iluminists a whole group of persons simply because she had heard them praised by Miguel de Eguía.

[21] Vergara proceso, fol. 44v: "Miguel de Guía, enfermo."

[22] Ibid., fol. 276.

[23] See for example Zaccaria Boverio, Annalium seu sacrarum historiarum ordinis minorum S. Francisci qui Capucini nuncupantur, 2 vols. Lugduni, 1632, I, p. 289; Nicolás Antonio, Bibliotheca Hispana nova, sive, Hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno M.D. ad MDCLXXXIV floruere notitia, 2 vols., Madrid, 1783-1788, I, p. 790.

[24] Alonso y Juan, p. 166.

[25] Torre, "La Univ. de Alcalá", RABM XXI, pp. 50-51.

[26] Urriza, Preclara facultad, p. 243.

[27] Idem and M. y Pelayo, Heterodoxos, III, p. 189. Both Urriza and M. y Pelayo venture this suggestion, based on earlier statements that Juan was trained in law. This error is probably due, however, not to a failure to distinguish between canon and civil law, but to a confusion of Juan with his brother Alfonso, who probably had some kind of training in civil law.

What then did he study? We can get some idea from the nature of a comment by Erasmus who on March 1, 1528, wrote to Juan expressing his approval of the latter's devotion to liberal studies:

> I hear you are dedicating yourself to liberal studies, so you may improve your naturally superior abilities with all kinds of ornament; however, it is hardly up to me to advise you, as of your own free will you are engaged in this admirable pursuit.[28]

On the basis of Juan's later writings Melgares Marín concludes that Valdés specialized in the humanities, excelling in Latin, Greek and Hebrew.[29] Such a conclusion appears reasonable and most of Valdés' later biographers share the same opinion. In addition to Latin his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew is attested by his translation from Greek of the Epistles of Saint Paul and of the Psalms from Hebrew.

Of all his contemporaries at the University of Alcalá, probably the one who exercised the greatest influence on Juan de Valdés was his friend and teacher Francisco de Vergara. Francisco, professor of Greek at Alcalá from 1521 on,[30] was the younger brother of Juan de Vergara, who was to take an active part in support of Valdés when the latter's dialogue was under attack by the Inquisition.[31]

Vergara was a friend and disciple of Erasmus. The two men exchanged letters, Francisco writing a long Greek letter to the Dutch

---

[28]Allen, Epist. Erasmi, VII, p. 341.

[29]Julio Melgares Marín, Procedimientos de la Inquisición, 2 vols., Madrid, 1888, II, p. 66.

[30]Torre, "Univ. de Alcalá", RABM XXI, p. 280; Bataillon, Érasme, p. 170, n. 3.

[31]Below, pp. 49ff.

humanist which made a considerable impression.[32] In 1524 Vergara published a Greek edition of the Epistles of Saint Paul, which symbolized better than any other book the Erasmist tendencies at Alcalá.[33] This work was to enjoy the dubious distinction of being included on the Inquisition's list of prohibited books about one hundred years later.[34]

The correspondence of Gracián de Alderete[35] indicates that Juan de Valdés and Francisco de Vergara not only shared the same intellectual interests but that along with Gracián himself, they all shared the same enthusiasm for stories about monks and that Francisco's collection of stories was as good as that of his friends.

If Juan introduced his mentor to monkish stories Vergara in turn introduced Valdés to Greek, in particular to the works of Saint Paul and Lucian.[36] In addition to his publication in 1524 of the Epistles of Saint Paul, which Valdés later translated from Greek to Spanish, Vergara published the same year, at the press of Miguel de Eguía, a chrestomathy of Greek texts, among which he included Lucian's Icaromenippus and the Dialogue of Neptune and Mercury.[37] Menéndez y Pelayo[38]

---

[32] Bataillon, Érasme, pp. 290-1, 370.

[33] Ibid., p. 171.

[34] Idem. This list, drawn up about 1635, was found in the secret chamber of the Inquisition of Valencia.

[35] Ltr. to Vergara April 1529, above, p. 22.

[36] The Greek Sophist, not the Christian martyr.

[37] Bataillon, Érasme, p. 171.

[38] Heterodoxos, III, p. 190, n. 1.

notes that Juan de Valdés shows in his works a special liking for the works of Lucian, particularly in the Diálogo de la lengua, in which almost all the Greek examples used by Valdés are taken from the Greek Sophist. Although Bataillon suggests[39] that Valdés learned his Greek from Paul rather than Lucian it is quite possible that, given the intellectual interests of Francisco de Vergara, Valdés learned his Greek from both Lucian and Paul and was influenced by the ideas of both.

---

[39] Erasme, p. 374, n. 1: "It is perhaps in Saint Paul and not in Lucian that he learned Greek."

V

FIRST CLASH WITH THE INQUISITION

A. The Examining Commission

January 14, 1529 Juan de Valdés' Diálogo de Doctrina Christiana was issued from the press of Miguel de Eguía at Alcalá.[1] Almost immediately the Inquisition began the first of a series of examinations which were to result in the flight of Valdés to Italy and his subsequent conviction of heresy, along with the prohibition of his works in Spain.

Even before publication of the Doctrina Christiana Juan's name was not unknown to the Inquisition. We have already seen[2] that he was mentioned in potentially compromising circumstances in the proceso of Ruiz de Alcaraz in 1525. In 1528 Baldessar Castiglione's attack on Alfonso[3] had brought further notoriety to the Valdés name in Spain.

Although denounced to the Inquisition Juan was not without influential friends, both on the Inquisition itself and outside of it, who were to come to his defense in the next few months during which his dialogue was subjected to an examination of its orthodoxy. Soon after the second week in January 1529[4] Inquisitor general Manrique appointed a commission

---

[1] Bataillon, Juan de Valdés, p. 67.

[2] Above, ch. II.

[3] Above, p. 3.

[4] The dialogue was published Jan. 14, 1529. March 21 of the same year Erasmus wrote to Juan (see below, p.57) expressing his pleasure on learning that Juan was cleared of his recent troubles with the Inquisition. This would seem to indicate that the commission was appointed in January or early February 1529, allowing for the time required for the inquisitorial machinery to function and for the news of the commission's report to reach Erasmus at Basle.

of theologians from the University of Alcalá to examine the Doctrina Christiana for its orthodoxy. Not only does the speed with which the commission cleared Valdés' work bespeak the influence of his supporters but the makeup of the commission, consisting of a group of theologians from the Erasmian stronghold of Alcalá, indicates that Juan had friends in high places.

The hand of Alonso Manrique, Archbishop of Seville and Inquisitor general, can be seen in this whole affair, as it was Manrique who appointed the members of the commission to examine Valdés' work with orders to send him a report on their findings.[5] Manrique had an established reputation as a friend of Erasmus in Spain. In 1527 when Erasmus' Enchiridion was condemned by a group of friars at Valladolid, Manrique threw the full weight of his authority behind the supporters of the Dutch humanist, dissolving the assemblage and prohibiting that any attacks be made against Erasmus. He had also upheld Juan's brother in the latter's dispute with Castiglione over the dialogue of Lactancio.[6] In the case of Juan's Doctrina Christiana Manrique's appointment of an examining commission whose members were intellectually sympathetic to Juan's ideas was quite consistent with his previously demonstrated attitude, particularly when we note that he sent an emissary to speak in favor of Valdés during the course of the commission's deliberations.[7]

---

[5]February 12, 1532, Alonso Sánchez, testifying at the proceso of Vergara (fol. 181r), stated that the committee's opinion on the Doctrina Christiana was delivered to the Archbishop of Seville (Manrique) about three years previously (around Feb. 1529).

[6]See ltr. of Alfonso to Transilvanius April 22, 1529, in Caballero, Alonso y Juan, pp. 432-4.

[7]Below, pp. 47-8.

The commission of Alcalá theologians entrusted with the task of determining the orthodoxy of the Doctrina Christiana convened at the College of San Ildefonso in the chambers of Alcalá's rector Mateo Pascual. There were eleven members in the group, of whom the principal ones seem to have been Alonso Sánchez, Juan de Medina, Pedro de Lerma, Hernán Vázquez and Mateo Pascual. Due perhaps to the anxiety of Manrique to have the affair settled without delay, meetings were held frequently although attendance was not always good:

> Asked who were the doctors and learned men who saw and examined the said book of Christian doctrine, he said that those who met to examine the said book in this town [Alcalá] met many days in the college [of San Ildefonso] in the chamber of maestro Pascual who was rector at that time, and that sometimes there came [to the meetings] the abbot Pedro de Lerma, abbot of Santiuste and Doctor Medina and this witness [Alonso Sánchez] and Hernan Vázquez and Doctor Balvas and Doctor Francisco de la Fuente and Doctor Diego de la Puente and Doctor Loaysa sometimes and Doctor Bernardino Alonso and Doctor Vargas and sometimes they all went and sometimes some of them . . .[8]

The members of the commission were a distinguished group. Bernardino Alonso of Illescas[9] and Christóval de Loaysa from Ocaña both came to Alcalá as fellows of San Ildefonso. Loaysa served a term as rector of Alcalá and later held important church posts at Siguenza and Seville.[10] Francisco de Vargas, who joined the theology faculty in 1517 was still

---

[8] Vergara proceso, fol. 181r: testimony of Alonso Sánchez at Alcalá de Henares Feb. 12, 1532.

[9] For Alonso see Torre, "Univ. de Alcalá", RABM XX, p. 417.

[10] Porreño, Dos tratados, p. 368.

teaching at the time of the commission's hearings.[11] Francisco de la Fuente was dean of the liberal arts faculty of Alcalá from 1526 to 1555, with the possible exception of the years 1548-1549.[12]

Diego de la Puente, who came from Burgos, was chosen a fellow of San Ildefonso in 1513 on orders of Ximénez.[13] From 1514 to 1518 he taught theology at Alcalá[14] and remained as a university official after his teaching service,[15] officiating as a canon of the Church of San Justo y pastor.[16]

Fernando de Balvás, from Zamora, had been among the first fellows elected to San Ildefonso in 1508.[17] He was rector of Alcalá in 1513-14[18] and later held the posts of abbot of the church of San Justo y Pastor and chancellor of the university.[19] During his long life of

---

[11]Torre, "Univ. de Alcalá", RABM, XXI, p. 280. Also see Urriza, Preclara facultad, pp. 242, 245-6, 451, 483.

[12]Urriza, Preclara facultad, pp. 220, 451-9.

[13]José de Rújula y de Ochotorena, Índice de los colegiales del mayor de San Ildefonso y menores de Alcalá, Madrid, 1946, p. 921. Also see Torre, "Univ. de Alcalá", RABM, XXI, pp. 276-7.

[14]Urriza, Preclara facultad, pp. 448-9, 496; Torre, "Univ. de Alcalá", RABM, XXI, pp. 276-7.

[15]A notice of a graduation ceremony of July 20, 1527, published in Urriza, Preclara facultad, p. 220, lists a number of Alcalá officials in attendance, among them "Dr. and Maestro Diego de la Puente."

[16]Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, "La enseñanza de Santo Tomás en la Universidad de Alcalá", in Ciencia Tomista, XIII (1916), p. 252. Also see Rújula, Índice, p. 921.

[17]Rújula, Índice, p. 74; Torre, "Univ. de Alcalá", RABM, XX, pp. 414, 416-7; Porreño, Dos tratados, p. 358. Balvás (Valbas, Balbas) was among the first group of fellows arriving at Alcalá in July 1508. His fellow countryman Alonso Sánchez followed him two months later.

[18]Torre, "Univ. de Alcalá", RABM, XXI, p. 270; Urriza, Preclara facultad, p. 45; Porreño, Dos tratados, p. 358: "the sixth rector of this university."

[19]Porreño, Dos tratados, p. 358; Urriza, Preclara facultad, p. 165. Urriza, in his index, confuses Fernando de Balvas with Pedro de Balvas, professor at Alcalá from 1554-1558 (pp. 460,483).

some eighty years he enjoyed a considerable reputation as a theologian and was the recipient of many honors from the church in Spain.[20]

Probably the most important members of the group of examiners were Alonso Sánchez, Juan de Medina, Pedro de Lerma, Hernán Vásquez and Mateo Pascual. Alonso Sánchez of Zamora, who supplied the information on the makeup of the examining commission, was among one of the early groups of fellows elected to San Ildefonso in 1508.[21] At the time of the Valdés affair (or soon after) he was a canon of the Church of San Justo y Pastor at San Ildefonso.[22] In 1532 when he was called upon to testify in connection with his participation as a member of the examining commission he was careful not to admit that he had officially approved of the Doctrina Christiana.[23]

Juan de Medina of Santayana[24] came to Alcalá as a fellow of San Ildefonso in May 1516.[25] He was a canon of the church of San Justo y

---

[20]Porreño, Dos tratados, p. 358: "He lived there [Alcalá Univ.] almost eighty years and had many rents given him by the Cardinal because of the esteem in which he held him; so great was this [esteem] that in the last years of his life he [the Cardinal] brought him to his home so that he might be present at the theological disputes which were held in his presence every day after dinner."

[21]Rújula, Índice, p. 758; Torre, "Univ. de Alcalá", RABM, XX, p. 417. Both Rújula and Torre refer to him as Alfonso; in the Vergara proceso (fol. 181r) his name is given as Alonso.

[22]Vergara proceso, fol. 181r: "Doctor Alonso Sánchez, canon of the Church of Santiuste de Alcalá."

[23]Discussing the committee's written opinion clearing the Doctrina Christiana of charges of heresy Sánchez said he didn't remember signing it: "They sent it [to Manrique] signed by some of the said Doctors although this witness [Sánchez] doesn't remember having signed it" (ibid., fol. 181r-v).

[24]In Burgos. For Medina see Porreño, Dos tratados, p. 364; Urriza, Preclara facultad, p. 291, n. 36 and p. 449, n. 16; Rujula, Índice, p. 515.

[25]Torre, "Univ. de Alcalá", RABM, XXI, p. 273.

Pastor and professor of arts and theology at Alcalá,[26] succeeding Manual Carrasco in the latter chair in 1526, which he held for twenty years until his death in 1546.[27] A great moralist, especially on the question of the sacrament of penance, he wrote two tracts on the subject[28] and on his death in 1546 was honored by interment in the chapel of San Ildefonso, in company with Nebrija and Ximénez.[29] Medina was to serve as a witness not only at the <u>proceso</u> of Juan de Vergara, from which we get our information on the activities of the examining commission on which he was a principal figure, but also at the later trials of Juan de Valdés and of his own fellow committee member Mateo Pascual.[30]

Pedro de Lerma, abbot of San Justo and first chancellor of the university[31] was not unacquainted with the name of Valdés, having read and approved of Alfonso's dialogue of <u>Lactancio</u> before its dissemination.[32] In 1527 he had been a vigorous partisan of Erasmus at the conference of Valladolid, to the great satisfaction of Luis Vives, who wrote Erasmus of his hopes that the learned Pedro de Lerma would be present to

---

[26] Vergara <u>proceso</u>, fol. 182r-v; Urriza, <u>Preclara facultad</u>, p. 492, gives the dates of Medina's professorship in arts as 1618 to 1620, obviously a misprint for 1518-1520.

[27] Alvaro Gómez de Castro, <u>De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximenio Cisnerio Archiepiscopo Toletano</u>, Compluti [Alcalá], 1569, fol. 222; Nicolás Antonio, <u>Bibl. Hisp. nova</u>, pp. 740-1.

[28] <u>Codex de penitentia</u> (Alcalá, 1544) and the <u>Codex de restitutione et contractibus</u> (Alcalá, 1546).

[29] Urriza, <u>Preclara facultad</u>, p. 45.

[30] Below, pp. 42, 61.

[31] Urriza, <u>Preclara facultad</u>, p. 39; Torre, "Univ. de Alcalá", <u>RABM</u>, XX, p. 416.

[32] See Alfonso Valdés' ltr. to Castiglione in Serassi, <u>Lettere del conte</u>, II, p. 173.

defend the Enquiridion.[33] His strong Erasmian leaning were soon to be his undoing. After some twenty-five years as chancellor at Alcalá he retired to Burgos early in 1537 at the age of seventy. Before the year was out he was jailed by the Inquisition on charges of heresy. After a long trial, during which he was accused of introducing some of the teachings of Erasmus into his sermons, he was forced to make public recantation, in all the principal Spanish towns where he had preached, of eleven propositions declared heretical, scandalous and wicked. He was further required to declare that the false doctrines which he had preached in his sermons were diabolically inspired to sow evil in the church. Despite his advanced years Lerma left Spain at the first opportunity, returning to the Sorbonne where he had been dean of the faculty of theology. Receiving a warm welcome there he spent the remaining four years of his life among his old friends at Paris, disdaining to return to Spain where, he said, learned people could not live among such persecutors as his.[34]

Of all the members of the examining commission Hernán (Fernán, Fernando) Vázquez was the most vigorous defender of Juan de Valdés

---

[33] Ltr. of Luis Vives June 13, 1527 to Erasmus: "I doubt even less that they called [to the meetings] Luis Coronel and Lerma, Abbot of Alcalá, and perhaps Vergara too, all of which makes me hope with good reason, that your cause, which is the cause of religion and of letters, is going to come out the victor" (Juan Luis Vives, Obras Completas, ed. by Lorenzo Riber, 2 vols., Madrid, 1947-8, II, pp. 1708-9).

[34] "ubi solebat frequenter dicere, fiere non posse, ut docti homines inter ejusmodi persecutores doctrinae tuto habitarent" (Francisco de Enzinas, Mémoires, 2 vols., Brussels, 1862-3, II, p. 166). See pp. 156-168 for the above data on Pedro de Lerma.

and a staunch supporter of the orthodoxy of the Doctrina Christiana.[35] Elected a fellow of San Ildefonso in September 1508, he was among the early arrivals at the university.[36] He was the brother of Friar Dionisio Vázquez, professor of Bible at Alcalá[37] and on occasion taught theology himself.[38] Whether or not he corresponded with Gracián de Alderete cannot be determined for certain.[39] He was twice denounced (1532 and 1533) to the Inquisition for Lutheranism, along with the Valdés and Vergara brothers.[40]

The meetings of the examining commission were held in the chambers of Mateo Pascual, rector of the University of Alcalá in 1529, and a good friend of Juan de Valdés. In 1531, he was in Rome with Valdés, apparently having accompanied the latter in his flight from Spain.[41] After a brief stay in Rome he returned to Spain and was jailed by the Toledo Inquisition,[42] which had begun a proceso against him.[43] Among

---

[35]Below, pp. 45-6.

[36]Torre, "Univ. de Alcalá", RABM, XX, p. 417.

[37]Vergara proceso, fol. 181r; Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, "Catedráticos de Sagrada Escritura en la Universidad de Alcalá durante el siglo XVI", in Ciencia Tomista, XVIII (1918), p. 145.

[38]In the 1515-16 session at Alcalá Vázquez took over Sancho Carranza de Miranda's course in theology on the frequent occasions of Miranda's absence: Torre, "Univ. de Alcalá", RABM, XXI, p. 67.

[39]Paz y Melia, "Otro erasmista", p. 625, n. 1, lists one Dr. Vázquez among the correspondents of Gracián de Alderete.

[40]Testimony of Diego Hernández at Vergara proceso, fols. 44v, 46r. See below, pp. 61-2 , for a brief sketch of Diego Hernandez.

[41]Vergara proceso, fol. 129r-v. See below, pp. 72-4.

[42]Enzinas, Mémoires, II, p. 156.

[43]Vergara proceso, fol. 182v: testimony of Juan de Medina Dec. 14, 1533. A marginal notation here says: "Taken from the proceso of Matheo Pascual." This is the only portion of the Pascual proceso known to be extant.

the charges against him were his implication in the affair of the Doctrina Christiana[44] and flippancy in regard to the question of Purgatory.[45] After a long trial he was finally freed by 1537 and returned to Rome where he spent most, if not all, of the rest of his life until his death in 1553.[46]

B. The Examination

Where was Juan de Valdés during the meetings of the examining commission? It is not surprising to find that he did the same thing in 1529 as he probably had done five years earlier when Ruiz de Alcaraz became compromised with the Inquisition: he sought out his brother Alfonso in Toledo, where the Emperor's court was then staying.[47] February 14, 1529 Alfonso wrote Juan Dantiscus from Toledo excusing his failure to send Dantiscus a copy of his dialogue on the sack of Rome. He had been unable to carry out his promise because of the serious illness of his brother Juan, obviously with him at the time.[48]

---

[44] Idem.

[45] In a theological dispute at Alcalá Pascual's opponent pointed out that the logical conclusion to be drawn from the rector's argument was that Purgatory didn't exist, to which Pascual replied "So what?" (Enzinas, Mémoires, p. 156).

[46] Idem., Bataillon, Érasme, p. 516.

[47] The court was at Toledo during almost the whole period from October 15, 1528 to March 8, 1529. See Foronda, Estancias y viajes, pp. 316-321.

[48] This letter appears in Edward Boehmer, "Alfonsi Valdesii litterae XL ineditae", in Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo, 2 vols., Madrid, 1899, I, p. 400: "Gravissimum mei Joannis morbus effecit ut neque dialogum de capta urbe neque rationem singularis certaminis ad te mittere possim."

Either before or after this "illness", however, Juan had made some effort in his own behalf, by defending his work personally to Juan de Medina during the period of the examining commission's meetings. It is possible too that Juan made some effort to induce his friends both on and off the commission to speak in his favor. At least the Inquisition in 1533 suspected that this had been done, although Juan de Vergara denied it:

> Asked if the said Juan de Valdés had requested him [Vergara], either personally or through someone else, to exercise all the effort he could to present that book [Doctrina Christiana] in a favorable light to the Doctors of the faculty [of Alcalá], in order that they not declare unorthodox any of the things in the book, of if he [Valdés] asked him any other favors in connection with the said book, . . . he said that Juan de Valdés never spoke to him about this book nor does he believe that the said Valdés was at that time in Alcalá, at least he doesn't remember it.[49]

Whether or not Valdés opportuned any of his friends to act in his favor, he did make a personal effort on his own behalf. When asked by Juan de Medina just what he meant by certain passages in his dialogue, Valdés eagerly urged his questioner not to look upon any of his comments as unorthodox since he had never meant to imply any deviation from Church dogma:

> [When asked] if at the time the said book was being examined by the faculty of theology, if anyone was active on behalf of Valdés or Tovar or any other persons to see that [the commission] not condemn the said errors but that they remove some and correct others so that the book

---

[49] Vergara proceso, fols. 203v-204r: testimony of Juan de Vergara July 17, 1533.

> might remain Catholic and be [re]printed, [Medina] said that what he knows about this is that at the time that the said faculty of theologians submitted this book of Christian doctrine to him for examination, he discussed some of its propositions with the said Valdés to find out what he meant by them; the said Valdés instantly begged him to take no notice of such propositions saying he had never meant them in such a way, and [Medina added] that this was at the time when the said faculty was examining the said book and was to send its opinion to the said council of the Inquisition.[50]

Hernán Vázquez seems to have been the most active member of the commission who came to the support of Valdés. During the course of the meetings he spoke up vehemently in favor of the Doctrina Christiana. In the presence of the assembled theologians he announced that he had read the book before it was printed. Finding in it some things which he considered potentially compromising he had made Valdés remove them before the book was printed. In the form in which it came off Eguía's press, however, Vázquez considered the book to be theologically sound and he was greatly disturbed that it should be criticized. His zeal was undiminished throughout and he made every effort to explain and defend any passages about whose orthodoxy some question might be raised:

> [Witness:] Doctor Alonso Sánchez canon of the Church of Santiuste of Alcalá —sworn witness, etc. who among other things which he said and deposed, deposed the following:
>
> He said that at the time of the discussion among the theological doctors of this city of Alcalá, [held] for the purpose of examining and settling a book of Christian doctrine, written by one Valdés, a student from Cuenca

---

[50] Ibid., fol. 182r: testimony of Juan de Medina Feb. 14, 1532.

> as they say, which [book] was printed and is titled Book of Christian Doctrine, written by a religious, this witness saw Doctor Hernán Vázquez, brother of Friar Dionisio, present at the meeting; he heard the said Hernán Vázquez say, in the presence of all the theologians who were there, that he had had and read the said book in Toledo some time before it was printed and that although he had made [Valdés] take some things out of the book because they didn't appear proper, . . . the said Hernán Vázquez was disturbed because things in this book were being criticized, and he tried and worked to defend and to gloss and to excuse all he could of the said book . . . [51]

Strong pressure in support of Valdés was brought to bear on the committee by Sancho Carranza de Miranda, who had the support of the Archbishop of Seville and Inquisitor general Alonso Manrique. Sancho Carranza de Miranda was the uncle of Bartolomé Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo whose denunciation on charges of heresy in 1558[52] was to provide a cause celebre in Spanish church relations with the papacy. Sancho,[53] after studies at Paris and a sojourn at Rome during the pontificate of Alexander VI (1492-1503), taught liberal arts and theology at Alcalá from 1510 to 1518. In 1527 he was present at Valladolid as one of the supporters of Erasmus.[54] The following year he was named Inquisitor of Navarre and in 1529 he took over the canonicate of the Cathedral of Seville. He died two years later on July 6, 1531.

Miranda made representations on behalf of the Doctrina Christiana

---

[51] Vergara proceso, fol. 181r: testimony of Alonso Sánchez Feb. 12, 1532.

[52] Among the charges made against Bartolomé was the dissemination of some of the writings of Juan de Valdés.

[53] For biographical data on Sancho see Bataillon, Érasme, p. 131, n. 2; Urriza, Preclara facultad, p. 448; Torre, "Univ. de Alcalá", RABM, XXXI, p. 67.

[54] Bataillon, Érasme, pp. 261, 265, 271-2.

both to the Alcalá commission and to Inquisitor general Manrique, declaring that he thought so much of Valdés' work that he had bought copies of it himself for distribution in Navarre. He admitted that there might be a few things in the book which were "not good" but that these items could be passed over lightly. He thus expressed himself to Inquisitor general Manrique, apparently in the presence of Juan de Vergara, who took Miranda at his word:

> This witness [Vergara] never read it [Doc. Chris.] but he heard Doctor Miranda say that it was a very good book and that he had bought some of them and sent them to his land [Navarre] and that . . . if he had found a few things not well said . . . that with a few minor corrections the book was very good and that this had been the opinion of the said Doctor Miranda and he had thus expressed himself to the Archbishop of Seville . . .[55]

Miranda pressed his case before both Manrique and the commission itself. It is interesting to note, as a commentary on the religious sensitivities of the day that Miranda, reading the Doctrina Christiana in the light of the criticisms directed against it recognized that some things were not "well said", and added that "in other times" the book could have been written without any objections being raised against it:

> Then he said that reading it under advisement he found in it some things not well said, which he said would pass without notice any other time; but they could easily be

---

[55] Vergara proceso, fol. 203v: testimony of Juan de Vergara July 17, 1533. Luis Coronel, secretary to Manrique and like Miranda an active member of the Erasmian movement in Spain, echoed Miranda's sentiments on this score: "and this witness [Vergara] heard Doctor Coronel say almost the same thing" (Idem.). See also fol. 284v: "and I remember having heard Doctor Coronel say almost the same thing."

> corrected and his vote was that they be emended and the book be reprinted; and although the said doctor is dead, it is well known that this was his vote in the theology faculty of Alcalá; and thus it ought to be in the Council of the Inquisition where he also expressed his opinion on this matter . . .[56]

Miranda's opinions evidently coincided with those of Inquisitor general Manrique. Armed with Manrique's sanction Miranda journeyed to Alcalá where he appeared before the commission as a spokesman for Manrique himself. He suggested that in their report to the Inquisition on the Doctrina Christiana the Alcalá theologians not condemn the disputed passages of the work but deliver their verdict in such fashion that the dialogue might be corrected and reprinted. This, he said, was in accordance with the wishes of Manrique. The committee members could hardly be expected to do other than the Inquisitor general wished, even had they wished to condemn the work:

> Before the opinion was sent to the said council [of the Inquisition] Doctor Miranda, canon of Seville, may he be in Heaven [he died July 6, 1531] came to this city [Alcalá] and appeared before the said faculty of theologians and spoke to the said theologians there on behalf of the Archbishop of Seville, Inquisitor general, persuading them that in the opinion which they were to send they not qualify the said propositions of the said book of Christian doctrine, but that they handle the matter in such a way that the said book remain corrected and be reprinted in proper form; he told them this was the wish of the said archbishop, and this was the reason that the said theologians sent such a gentle report to the council of the Inquisition.[57]

---

[56] Ibid., fol. 284r-v: testimony of Juan de Vergara March 6, 1534.

[57] Ibid., fol. 182r-v: testimony of Juan de Medina Feb. 14, 1532.

In addition to the support given him by Inquisitor general Manrique through Sancho Carranza de Miranda, Juan de Valdés was aided by the intercession of Juan de Vergara, who as secretary of Alonso de Fonseca brought with him the great influence of the Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain and protector of the University of Alcalá. Juan de Vergara, brother of Valdés' friend and teacher Francisco, was one of the most fervent supporters of Erasmus in Spain. A fellow of San Ildefonso in 1514,[58] he worked on the famous Polyglot Bible[59] and was one of the first Spanish Hellenists to translate the writings of Aristotle from Greek to Latin.[60] A great admirer of Juan Luis Vives, Vergara suggested that the latter be offered the chair of rhetoric at Alcalá and himself transmitted the official offer to Vives, which was refused.[61] It was Vergara who introduced Archbishop Fonseca to Erasmus' works, instilling in his employer such great admiration for the Dutch humanist that Fonseca threw the full force of his authority behind Erasmus at Valladolid in 1527[62] and even sent him a pension after the affair was over.[63]

---

[58]Rújula, Índice, p. 869; Urriza, Preclara facultad, p. 18, refers to Vergara as professor of Greek at Alcalá. There is, however, no evidence to support this: cf. Torre, "Univ. de Alcalá", RABM, XXI, pp. 282-3.

[59]According to his own testimony July 17, 1533: Vergara proceso, fol. 141.

[60]Urriza, Preclara facultad, p. 335; Bataillon, Érasme, p. 23, n.3.

[61]Bataillon, Érasme, p. 170.

[62]Ibid., pp. 256-7. Vergara's ltr. of April 24, 1527 to Erasmus gives us the most complete account which we have of the Valladolid affair.

[63]One of the charges against which Vergara had to defend himself before the Inquisition was his responsibility for the fact that Archbishop Fonseca gave Erasmus a pension. Vergara's defense against this charge was made April 29, 1534, at his proceso, fols. 313r-314v.

By 1530 the Inquisition had begun a proceso against Juan de Vergara. In June 1533 he was jailed and kept in prison for almost four years despite the attempt of Fonseca to have him set free.[64] Among the many charges made against Vergara was his friendship with Erasmus and his complicity in the affair of the Doctrina Christiana.[65]

Our information on Vergara's activity in support of Valdés comes from the testimony at Vergara's proceso of Alonso Sánchez and Juan de Medina. Sánchez reported that while the Doctrina Christiana was under examination by the theologians at Alcalá Vergara contacted him personally at Alcalá and explained that since Valdés was a friend of his, he (Vergara) wanted the examining commission to exercise moderation in their judgment of the Doctrina Christiana, to which Sánchez agreed. Later, in a conversation with Medina, Sánchez learned that Vergara "and other persons" had spoken to Medina in the same vein:

> Asked if he knows whether the said Doctors or any of them were importuned or asked not to impugn any propositions of the said [book of] Christian doctrine but to defend it and uphold it . . . he said that at the time they were examining the said book . . . Doctor Vergara asked this witness to come to his house here in Alcalá . . . and the said Doctor Vergara asked this witness that, in the examination of this book of Christian doctrine moderation be used because it was his friend Valdés who wrote the said book;

---

[64] See Fonseca's letter of June 25, 1533, following fol. 227 of the Vergara proceso. Vergara did not regain his freedom until Feb. 1537.

[65] For a brief analysis of the proceso against Vergara see Bataillon, Érasme, pp. 473-508. A longer summary, with partial quotations from the original appears in Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Juan de Vergara y la Inquisición de Toledo", in Rev. Arch. Bib. y Mus., V (1901), pp. 896-912; VI (1902), pp. 29-42, 466-486.

> this witness replied that moderation would be used. And this witness, in a conversation with the said Doctor Medina, was told [by Medina] that the said Doctor Vergara and other persons had spoken to him about it.[66]

Two days later Juan de Medina verified Sánchez's testimony on this point. Although he didn't recall the exact conversation which he had with Vergara he did remember that Vergara told him that the Doctrina Christiana should be reprinted after any necessary corrections were made. Vergara expressly said, however, that if there were any heresies in the book they should not be covered up but should be duly declared. Medina's impression, from his conversation with Vergara was that the latter was a good friend of Valdés and would be disturbed by any criticism which Valdés should receive:

> At the same time Doctor Vergara, secretary of the Archbishop of Toledo [Fonseca] and brother of Tovar, spoke to this witness [Medina] about the book of Christian doctrine; that he doesn't recall well the exact words which Vergara said to him except that he clearly remembers that Vergara told him that he should have an order or give an order that the said book of Christian doctrine be reprinted, correcting what could be corrected; that Vergara expressly told this witness that . . . if there were anything erroneous or heretical in the book that it should not be covered up but should be declared; he [Vergara] addressed these words to him at his [Vergara's?] house and he [Medina] doesn't remember what persons were present; the impression this witness got from Vergara was that it seemed to him that Vergara was a friend of Valdés and that he would be disturbed at any affront that Valdés should receive.[67]

---

[66] Vergara proceso, fol. 181v: testimony of Alonso Sánchez Feb. 12, 1532.

[67] Vergara proceso, fol. 182v: testimony of Juan de Medina Feb. 14, 1532.

Slightly over a year later Vergara, commenting on Medina's testimony, explained that his intercession in favor of Valdés was motivated by a desire to prevent injustice due to mere malice, "as sometimes happens", and not by the wish to justify any heresies. Although he had never read the book himself Vergara's favorable opinion was based on the reports made by Sancho Carranza de Miranda and Luis Coronel:

> He said it is true that at the time this examination was going on this witness [Vergara] spoke to a Doctor who he believes is Doctor Medina to prevent the occurrence of anything malicious, as sometimes happens, and he told him this with all possible moderation and sobriety . . . even protesting that nothing bad in the said book should be allowed to pass and that this is the truth and that it was known, publicly to be [the work] of Juan de Valdés, and that this witness never read it but he heard Doctor Miranda say that it was a very good book . . . and he heard Doctor Coronel say almost the same thing and with this, this witness considered the book to be commendable.[68]

Vergara then hastened to add that he had reproved Valdés for having mixed in matters which he did not understand, although he insisted he had not discussed the Doctrina Christiana with Valdés or any friends of Valdés with the possible exception of his own half brother Bernardino Tovar:

> He said that Juan de Valdés never spoke to him about this book . . . because this witness had reproved him sharply for having mixed in matters which he had not studied and that this witness doesn't recall that anyone else, in the name of said Valdés, spoke to him about it unless it were Tovar, his brother.[69]

---

[68] Vergara proceso, fol. 203v: testimony of Vergara July 17, 1533. Cf. above, p. 47.

[69] Ibid., fol. 204r: testimony of Vergara July 17, 1533. Batailon, in Érasme, p. 391, n. 1, quotes one line from this testimony as from fol. 203r instead of 204r.

Almost two years after he gave the above testimony and five years after the events which he describes Vergara presented a long defense to the Inquisition. In this defense he took up the many charges made against him, including his implication in the Alcalá episode of 1529. The fact that Vergara felt called upon to explain away this particular charge provides an enlightening commentary on the Inquisition's attitude toward Valdés in 1534. The five-year time interval between the actual events and Vergara's description of his role in the whole affair, in addition to the fact of Vergara's compromising position with the Inquisition by 1534, serves as a good yardstick for measuring the validity of Vergara's testimony as compared with that of the two disinterested witnesses Sánchez and Medina three years previously.

After summarizing the testimony of Sánchez and Medina in regard to his overtures to various commission members in 1529, Vergara pointed out that their testimony contained nothing prejudicial to him. If he did speak to either of them about the Doctrina Christiana (he remembered speaking only to Medina) he did so on the strength of the favorable recommendations made by Sancho Carranza de Miranda and Luis Coronel. As a matter of fact, he added, he did not seek out Medina; he discussed the Doctrina Christiana with Medina only because the latter sought him out and on that occasion he insisted that no errors in the book should be overlooked. As for the comment attributed to him by Medina to the effect that he would be disturbed by criticisms directed against Valdés, Vergara countered that as a good Christian he would be disturbed by anyone's troubles, so naturally he would be hopeful for Valdés' well-

being. In the case of Valdés however, he might have been a little more disturbed than usual since he always did like Juan:

> Another sworn witness [Alonso Sánchez], who deposed in 1532, said that he knows that at the time the Doctors of theology at Alcalá were holding discussions to examine a book called Doctrina Christiana, which they say was written by one Valdés from Cuenca, he saw that Doctor Vergara spoke to one of the Doctors attending the examination of the said book, and that he [Vergara] asked that moderation be used in said examination, because it was his friend Valdés who wrote [the book], and he [Sánchez] heard another of the said Doctors say that Doctor Vergara had also spoken to him about this matter.[70]
>
> Another sworn witness [Juan de Medina], who deposed in February 1532, said that at the time that the theology faculty was examining a book called Doctrina Christiana by Juan de Valdés, he saw how Doctor Vergara, secretary of the Archbishop of Toledo, spoke to one of the Doctors of the faculty about the said book Doctrina Christiana; he doesn't remember the exact conversation which he heard, except that he clearly remembers having heard him [Vergara] say to the said person that he should have an order or give an order that the Doctrina Christiana be reprinted with any necessary corrections and that he [Vergara] expressly told the said person that . . . if there were anything heretical in the book that it should not be covered up but should be declared, and that he [Medina] heard him [Vergara] say the above in a certain house in the city of Alcalá, and that this witness [Medina] got the impression that Doctor Vergara was a friend of Valdés and that he would be disturbed by any affront which the said Valdés should receive.[71]
>
> To [the testimony of] these last two witnesses I say that besides not being confirmed, they say nothing prejudicial to me, because if I spoke to them about this book (which I don't remember . . .) it was because without having read the said book . . . I had heard Doctor Miranda say

---

[70] Cf. testimony of Sánchez above, p. 50-1

[71] Vergara seems to be confused in his identifications here. The "said person" to whom he refers is Medina himself; cf. Medina's testimony above, p. 51.

> that it was a good book and that he had bought many copies and sent them to his land, except that he later said that reading it under advisement he found in it some things not well said [etc.] . . .[72]

> The material [in this book] being such as it was, the doctors were at liberty, when they examined it, to make strong condemnations or temperate and charitable corrections; it [therefore] seemed reasonable to me to accept something I had not read, in view of the [favorable] votes of such persons as Doctor [Carranza de] Miranda and Doctor Coronel.

> In accordance with this I spoke to this latter witness [Medina] because he came to my home, for I would not have sought him out nor do I remember doing so;[73] and the material [in the Doctrina Christiana] being such as it was, I protested to him [Medina], as he has admitted, that nothing be covered up and that it be corrected properly. I don't recall having spoken to anyone else but if I did it would be with the same protestation and in the same way. As for the testimony of the latter witness [Medina] that it seemed to him that I would be disturbed by any criticism which Valdés should receive, I [can only] say that I would be disturbed by any injury to anyone, and the contrary would be unchristian, and it was this quality that would make me disturbed for Valdés, and [also] because I considered him a virtuous youth and for no other reason whatsoever.[74]

Even granting the literal truth of Vergara's testimony of 1534 it is apparent that he exhibited more than a passing interest in the activities of the examining commission at Alcalá in 1529. There is no good reason, however, for discrediting the testimony of Sánchez and

---

[72] See above pp. 47-8 for remainder of Miranda's testimony, as quoted by Vergara.

[73] Here Vergara confuses the testimony of Alonso Sánchez with that of Juan de Medina; it was Sánchez who said Vergara had invited him to his house. See testimony of Sánchez above, pp. 50-1.

[74] Vergara proceso, fol. 284r-v: testimony of Juan de Vergara March 6, 1534.

Medina in which Vergara is described as taking a very active part on behalf of Valdés. Vergara himself does not deny the truth of their statements; he merely says, parenthetically, that he doesn't remember it all very well. Perhaps, since the events to which he refers happened some five years previous, he actually didn't recall all the details. On the other hand, if he could remember so clearly the precise nature of his comments to Medina then it is possible that Vergara preferred only to "remember" those things which might cast a favorable light on his case. Since he was trying to extricate himself from a delicate position with the Inquisition Vergara's testimony in regard to the Valdés affair of 1529 might be taken with some reservations and greater reliance placed on that of Alonso Sánchez and Juan de Medina.

Given the makeup of the examining commission and the interest taken in the case by such figures as Inquisitor general Manrique and Juan de Vergara, secretary of the Archbishop of Toledo, the result of the commission's deliberations must have been a foregone conclusion. Vergara's conversation with Alonso Sánchez had brought the assurance that moderation would be used in judging the case[75] and the intervention of Sancho Carranza de Miranda, speaking in the name of Inquisitor general Manrique, was a vital factor in the favorable decision which was sent to Manrique with the signature of some, but not all of the commission members.[76]

---

[75] Above, pp. 50-1.

[76] Vergara <u>proceso</u>, fol. 181r-v: "cerca de la examinacion que alli se hizo por los dhos doctores se hizo con esta declaracion en rromançe y la enbiaron firmada de algunos de los dhos doctores . . . y la enbiaron al señor arçobispo de Sevilla" (testimony of Alonso Sánchez Feb. 12, 1532).

Valdés' victory brought pleasure not only to his friends in Spain but also to friends north of the Pyrenees. March 21, 1529 Erasmus wrote Juan from Basle indicating his disturbance on learning that Valdés was being tossed about by troubles and dangers and expressing his joy at having heard from Valdés that the latter had escaped shipwreck.[77]

Juan de Valdés had indeed been rescued, but his rescue was to be very short-lived. The growing forces of religious conservatism in Spain, held at bay in 1529 by the efforts of the Erasmists in and around Alcalá de Henares and at the nearby court of the Emperor, were to return to the attack within a few short months. The next time, Valdés' friends would not be able to stem the tide and Juan would have to effect his own rescue by getting out of Spain before it was too late.

---

[77] Erasmus to Juan de Valdés: "Vt mihi permolestum fuit Valdesium meum tot molestiis ac periculis agitatum esse, ita magnam voluptatem attulit quod ex tuis literis cognoui te incolumem ex isto naufragio enatasse. Iam non mediocriter me discruciat vestram Hispaniam tot affligi malis. Vtinam aliquando Deus monarcharum animos ad pacis amorem conuertat" (Allen, Epist. Erasmi, VIII, p. 96).

VI

THE VALDÉS PROCESO

Valdés' victory at Alcalá provided him with only a very brief respite from the Inquisition. His opponents returned to the attack almost immediately despite the fact that the Doctrina Christiana had been officially approved in 1529. With the religious revolution abroad gaining ever greater momentum the conservative monastic orders became increasingly important as the arbiters of religious orthodoxy in Spain and frequently foreshadowed what later became official Inquisition policy.[1]

The Doctrina Christiana was an early target in the new campaign for uniformity. The Franciscan friar Pedro de Vitoria preached so vigorously against Valdés' book that María de Cazalla, who had given copies to her daughters, forbade them to read it in view of the agitation raised against it and until its orthodoxy could be definitively established:

> One day she heard Friar Pedro de Vitoria, of the Order of Saint Francis, preaching and speaking badly of the said book of Christian doctrine, [which] made her throw it in the bottom of a chest until she should find out what decision was to be made about the book, and she ordered her daughters to read it no more; she doesn't

---

[1] Bataillon, Juan de Valdés, p. 72.

> remember who sent her the book but [she does know] that it was sent to her from Alcalá.[2]

By 1531 the Inquisition's attitude toward both Juan and Alfonso was distinctly hostile. In March of that year the Inquisition of Murcia confiscated from Diego de Valdés, brother of Juan and Alfonso, a copy of Alfonso's Mercurio y Carón and of Juan's Doctrina Christiana and censured Diego for having these books in his possession:

> This Canon [Diego de] Valdés is very sorry that there has been taken from him this book [Mercurio y Carón] . . . and two other small books in which is contained the first part of this book; these books are now in the secret chamber [of the Inquisition] with the other book entitled Diálogo de Doctrina Christiana, which was printed in Alcalá de Henares [and] which was composed by another brother of his, a religious, and this Canon is sorry about this because this book [Mercurio y Carón] was composed by his brother Alonso de Valdés, secretary of his majesty.[3]

Probably before the end of that year (1531) the Inquisition had initiated procesos against both Alfonso[4] and Juan de Valdés. Francisco

---

[2]Cazalla proceso, fol. 34r: testimony of María June 7, 1532. This appears in slightly different form in Melgares Marín, Procedimientos, II, p. 55. It is not known on just what grounds the Doctrina Christiana was denounced by Vitoria although María's testimony (fol. 34r) may provide a clue: "it seemed to her that there were in it some things which could be said better and without scandal, such as what it says about tithes and first fruits and about confession."

[3]Canónigo Diego de Valdés. Diálogo de su hermano Alonso, AHN, Madrid, Inquisicion, Legajo 4520, num. 2, provisional, fol. 3r. For a brief summary of this document see Antonio Paz y Melia, "Expedientes de Inquisicion conservados en la Biblioteca Nacional", in Rev. Arch. Bib. y Mus., XVII (1907), pp. 277-8. The above testimony is reproduced, with omissions from the original, in Paz y Melia's Papeles de Inquisicion, 2d ed., Madrid, 1947, pp. 14-5.

[4]Caballero, Juan y Alonso, p. 129, says it is "undeniable" that the Inquisition instituted a proceso against Alfonso, especially after Alfonso's conversations with Melanchthon at Augsburg.

de Enzinas comments that Alfonso would have been cruelly killed if he had returned to Spain and that the Emperor himself could not have saved him:

> Everyone knows Alfonso de Valdés, an upstanding man whose excellent doctrine and authority was attacked by the satellites of the Church fathers in such insidious fashion that if he had returned to Spain he . . . would have suffered a cruel death and the emperor himself would not have been able to save him.[5]

Death spared Alfonso from this bleak future forecast by Enzinas. Juan, who was threatened with the same kind of treatment, took flight to Italy:

> Everyone knows Juan de Valdés his brother . . . who could no longer live in Spain for the same reason, and went to Naples where his piety brought great fruits.[6]

Although the Valdés proceso is lost we know of its existence and a small part of its contents through a marginal notation, "Taken from the proceso of Juan de Valdés", alongside the testimony of Juan de Medina at the proceso of Juan de Vergara.[7] This testimony, which deals entirely with the Alcalá commission's examination of the Doctrina Christiana in

---

[5] Mémoires, II, p. 154.

[6] Idem.

[7] Vergara proceso, fol. 182 r: "Sacose del proceso de Juan de Valdes." Credit for this discovery goes to Marcel Bataillon (see his "Alonso de Valdés, auteur du Dialogo de Mercurio y Caron", in Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1925, I, p. 409). Serrano y Sanz, in "Juan de Vergara", p. 907, summarizes Medina's testimony but does not mention this notation. It is definitely written in the margin, however, as the present writer checked the original proceso in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid to make certain. Bataillon further suggests, in his Juan de Valdés, p. 79, that the testimony of Alonso Sánchez, immediately preceding that of Medina (see above, pp45-6,50-1), was also taken from the original proceso of Valdés.

1529, indicates clearly that Valdés' treatise was one of the main causes of the proceso against him.

The Inquisition very likely began its proceso against Valdés soon after 1529. Medina's testimony at Valdés' trial was included in the Vergara proceso on February 14, 1532. In the body of his testimony Medina refers to Sancho Carranza de Miranda, who is now dead.[8] Since Miranda died July 6, 1531, it is clear that this part of the Valdés proceso was going on between July 7, 1531 and February 14, 1532.[9] Since Medina, judging from the nature of his testimony, was probably not the first nor the last witness called to depose at the Valdés proceso it seems reasonable to conjecture that the Valdés proceso began at least as early as 1531, if not earlier. In fact, it is likely that the original proceso, could it be found, would contain the report of the Alcalá commission of 1529.

We do not have the result of the proceso against Juan de Valdés but it seems virtually certain that he was condemned for heresy. In 1532 at the proceso of Vergara one Diego Hernández presented to the Inquisition a list of names of persons whom he knew to be heretics because Juan del Castillo had told him that they were. The first name on

---

[8] Vergara proceso, fol. 182r: "el doctor Miranda canonigo de Sevilla que dios aya."

[9] A confusing bit of evidence appears on the same folio (182r). Medina's age is given as 35 ("e dixo ser de hedad de treynta e cinco anos"). Nicolás Antonio, Bibl. Hisp. nova, I, p. 741, as well as Urriza, Preclara facultad, p. 149, and Alvaro Gomez, De rebus gestis, fol. 222, indicate that Medina died in 1546 at the age of 57. This would place the date of his testimony (at age 35) at about 1524, an obvious impossibility.

the list was that of Juan de Valdés, "dañado."[10] A year later Hernández returned with a longer list of seventy names, all of whom he accused of varying shades of Lutheranism. Alfonso de Valdés was a "fino luterano", Juan de Vergara was a "fino lutherano endiosado" and Juan de Valdés a "finissimo lutherano endiosado."[11]

The acceptance by the Inquisition of Diego Hernández as a witness on two occasions and as a purveyor of such serious charges against so many people implies a willingness on the part of the Holy Office to credit the word of a most unreliable and questionable type in the matter of character assassination. Diego Hernández was an obscene, shameless buffoon.[12] Named as confessor for the nuns of Santa Clara in Guadalajara, he was sent packing by the abbess because of his questionable relations with a certain "religiosa" to whom he used to write letters full of scandalous words.[13] María de Cazalla described him as all kinds

---

[10]Vergara proceso, fol. 44v: testimony of Diego Hernández at Medina del Campo May 27, 1532. Also listed are: "Miguel de Guia, enfermo", "Alonso de Valdes secretario, danado" and "el doctor Hernan Vazquez" as a "conversante." This is the same Vázquez who had spoken on Juan's behalf before the Alcalá examining commission in 1529 (above, pp. 45-6).

[11]Ibid., fol. 45v: testimony of Diego Hernández at Toledo June 2, 1533. This folio is incorrectly numbered 46. The entire list of names given by Hernández appears on fols. 45v-46v and not on fols. 46-7 as indicated by Bataillon in Érasme, p. 480, n. 5. Number 14 on the list is "el bachiller Francisco de Vergara herido de Tovar"; Serrano y Sanz, in "Juan de Vergara", RABM, V, p. 911, adds "luterano" after Tovar. This does not appear in the original.

[12]"clérigo bufón, obsceno y sin asomos de vergüenza" (Serrano y Sanz, "Juan de Vergara", RABM, V, p. 909).

[13]"relaciones no muy puras con cierta religiosa, á quien escribía cartas llenas de palabras escandalosas" (idem.).

of a fool who used to strike people with whom he conversed, who danced and jumped about aimlessly, dressed himself as a woman and generally acted more like a crazy man than like the cleric and teacher he was supposed to be.[14]

By March 1534 Juan de Valdés' name was in sufficiently bad odor with the Inquisition to make it necessary for Juan de Vergara to justify vigorously his defense of Valdés at Alcalá in 1529 and to minimize his efforts to that end.[15] By December of that year the Inquisition, if it had not already completed the proceso against Valdés, at least seems to have made up its mind on the question of his orthodoxy. When Vergara demanded that testimony from other procesos be added to his own, his accusers replied by calling for all the procesos against Lutherans and iluminists so that testimony could be taken from these to substantiate the charges of heterodoxy against Vergara. The procesos particularly wanted by Vergara's accusers included those of Ruiz de Alcaraz, María de Cazalla and Juan de Valdés.[16]

---

[14]"hombre liviano, de poco juicio, loco y atronado en obras y en palabras, así en dar golpes á los que con él conversan, como en bailar y saltar sin propósito, en vestirse de mujer y en otras cosas de semejante calidad, más proprias de un perdido que de un hombre formal, clérigo y maestro" (idem.).

[15]Above, pp. 52ff.

[16]Vergara proceso, fol. 329r, Dec. 10, 1534: "en especial de los processos de Pero (sic) Ruiz de Alcaraz, Ysabel dela Cruz, obpo Cazalla, Maria de Cazalla, Juan Lopez de Calayn, Diego Lopez Husillo, Diego de Castillo, el maestro Castillo, Juan de Valdes, Gaspar de Vedoya." Of all these procesos only those of Alcaraz and María de Cazalla are left in the AHN at Madrid (Bataillon, Juan de Valdés, pp. 79-80, n. 1).

If we can rely on the testimony of Llorente the works of Valdés were qualified as Lutheran and their author was condemned as a heretic. Bataillon points out[17] that although Llorente's bias against the Inquisition marred his historical accuracy he did work with a great number of documents and that his comment on the Valdés case was probably a faithful resume of the since lost dossier of the Valdés proceso.[18] It should be noted, however, that Cantú, writing about forty years later, disagreed with Llorente, for whose work on the Inquisition he had little regard. According to Cantú, Valdés was never condemned for heresy during his lifetime; it was only after his death that he was looked on as a heretical leader. The nature of his heresy was never made clear, however, and he has since been claimed by many faiths.[19]

Regardless of the Inquisition's final decision in regard to Valdés himself there is little question about the attitude of the guardians of

---

[17]In Juan de Valdés, p. 78, n. 1. Llorente's comment, as quoted by Bataillon, is that the works of Valdés "fueron calificadas por luteranas y su autor por hereje formal. Su prisión no tuvo lugar, porque Valdés huyo del reino."

[18]Nicolás Antonio's reference in Bibl. Hisp. nova, I, p. 790, to Juan as an "hereticus Lutheranus", would seem to bear out Bataillon's thesis. Other bibliographers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries make similar references (see Edmondo Cione, Juan de Valdés. La sua vita e il suo pensiero religioso, Bari, 1938, bibliography items nos. 124, 127, 131, 132, 151, 154, 155, 158, 161, 164).

[19]Cesare Cantú, Gli Eretici d'Italia. Discorsi storici, 3 vols., Turin, 1865-6, I, p. 378: "Llorente, storico dell'Inquisicione parabolano e sempre mal informato como mostreremo, dice [that Juan] abbandonasse la Spagna perchè condannato d'eresia. Nol fu mai da vivo: sol dopo morte fu tenuto per capo d'eretici, ma non si specifica di quali eresie pecasse, e ogni Chiesa dissidente vorebbe trarlo a sè, fin gli Antitrinitarj."

Spanish Catholicism toward his Doctrina Christiana. In 1531 this dialogue, confiscated from Diego de Valdés, was sent along with a copy of Alfonso's Mercurio y Carón to the secret chambers of the Inquisition. A year later María de Cazalla when asked by the Inquisition if and why she had praised the Doctrina Christiana, deemed it prudent to give an equivocal answer. Although she admitted having praised the book she pointed out that there were some things which could have been said better and that she praised only the good things in the dialogue:

> Asked if she has praised the book of Christian doctrine, this witness [replied] that she has often praised the said book of Christian doctrine although it seemed to her that there were in it some things which could have been expressed better, such as what it says about tithes and first fruits and about confession.
>
> Asked why she praised it when she saw that it contained some things which were not said in good taste, she said that she praised the good things in the book and passed over what wasn't good.[20]

The ultimate fate of the Doctrina Christiana demonstrates beyond doubt the Inquisition's opinion of Valdés and his doctrine. Although we do not have the original Spanish Index of 1547 it is more than likely[21] that the Doctrina Christiana appeared on this first list. From 1551, the

---

[20] Cazalla proceso, fols. 33v-34r: testimony of María June 7, 1532.

[21] "infiniment probable" (Bataillon, Juan de Valdés, p. 76). This Spanish Index of 1547, drawn up at the University of Louvain in 1546, has not been found. Oct. 28, 1547, Cardinal Henrique, Inquisitor general of Portugal, promulgated at Evora a list of forbidden works apparently based on the lost Spanish Index. On the Portuguese list appears the "Dialogo de Doutrina Cristãa composto novamente per hun religioso" (Ibid., pp. 74-6).

date of the first available Spanish Index, drawn up at Toledo, the Doctrina Christiana appears on every Spanish catalogue of forbidden books.[22] In fact, the inquisitorial vigor made this book so rare that Bataillon searched unsuccessfully all over Spain and Portugal before finding a copy of the Doctrina Christiana in the National Library of Lisbon.[23]

---

[22] Ibid., pp. 75-6; also Bataillon, in "Alonso de Valdés, auteur du Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón", p. 408, n. 3.

[23] Juan de Valdés, p. 9.

VII

FLIGHT TO ITALY

Publication of the Doctrina Christiana and the ensuing hue and cry raised against it by the monastic orders brought to a sudden and definite end the Spanish career of Juan de Valdés. Realizing that the inquisitorial proceso against him might easily result in his incarceration, Valdés sought safety in flight to Italy.

Francisco de Enzinas was very likely correct when he said[1] that Valdés left Spain because his opinions were such that it was no longer possible for him to live there. Menéndez y Pelayo, the distinguished historian of Spanish heterodoxy, refuses to accept the testimony of Enzinas and goes to great and unconvincing lengths to demonstrate that Valdés was not pursued by the Inquisition.[2] Menéndez y Pelayo would "put in quarantine"[3] the testimony of Enzinas, presumably because he feels that Enzinas' own difficulties with the Inquisition[4] made him a prejudiced witness. However, in view of the data uncovered since Menéndez y Pelayo wrote on Juan de Valdés, and in view also of the

---

[1] Mémoires, p. 154.

[2] Heterodoxos, III, pp. 204 ff.

[3] "poner en cuarentena" (Ibid., p. 204)

[4] Enzinas was imprisoned in 1543 by the Inquisition at Brussels when he published, at Antwerp, a Spanish version of the New Testament. He escaped about a year later, and fled to Wittenberg, where he wrote The State of the Netherlands and of the Religion of Spain, a story of his "persecution" at the hands of the Inquisition. In 1548 he went to England and became professor of Greek at Cambridge. He died in Geneva about 1553.

celebrated Spanish scholar's own strong bias in favor of the Inquisition we may safely take Enzinas at his word.

Both Boehmer[5] and Carrasco[6] agree that Juan had to flee to Italy to escape the Inquisition and they attribute the cause of his flight to the Mercurio y Carón since proven[7] to have been the work of Alfonso. We need not rely on the word of these two for evidence, however. The existence of a proceso against Valdés is no longer a question for speculation and other evidence[8] indicates that the case did not go well for Valdés. It seems more than likely that Valdés, learning of the proceso being formed against him, decided to get out of Spain while he still had a chance. Llorente's comment[9] bears out this theory, as does that of Schinosi[10] and Valdés' friends in Italy apparently understood the situation in just that way.[11]

---

[5]Edward Boehmer, Bibliotheca Wiffeniana. Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from 1520, 3 vols., Strassbourg and London, 1874-1904, I, pp. 67-8.

[6]Manuel Carrasco, Alfonso et Juan de Valdés. Leur vie et leurs écrits religieux. Étude historique, Geneva, 1880, p. 53. Carrasco puts the date of Juan's departure at 1529.

[7]By Bataillon, "Alonso de Valdés, auteur du Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón." This is substantiated by José F. Montesinos, "Algunas notas sobre el Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón", in Rev. Fil. Esp., XVI (1929), pp. 225-266.

[8]Above, Ch. VI, passim.

[9]Above, p.64 , n. 17.

[10]Francesco Schinosi, Istoria della compagnia di Giesú appartenente al Regno di Napoli. Parte prima, Naples, 1706, p. 6: " [Valdés] sbandito dalla patria per sospezion di alcuna disseminata eresia."

[11]Sept. 2, 1542, Nino Sernini, in a letter to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, said: "S'ha bene qualche dubbio delli scritti lassati dal Valdés che morì a Napoli, et questi spagnoli dicono che per quest'effetto si fuggì di Spagna" (Montesinos, ed., Dial. lengua, p. XXXVII).

For the period between early 1529, when he was in Toledo, and late 1531, when he turned up in Rome, we have no certain knowledge of the whereabouts of Juan de Valdés. One may, however, essay a reconstruction of his activity during this period. Erasmus' letter of March 1529,[12] congratulating Juan on his escape from recent troubles, presumably in connection with the Alcalá examination of the Doctrina Christiana, indicates that Juan was still in Spain with Alfonso, since Erasmus says that he will look upon Alfonso's letters to him as coming from Juan and that Juan should consider that Erasmus' letters to Alfonso are meant for Juan also.[13]

In view of his narrow escape Juan might well have decided to remain close to his brother, thereby securing a certain degree of protection against future trouble through his association with the court of the Emperor. Such a decision would be consistent with his previous behavior when he attached himself to the court after the Escalona episode and the jailing of Ruiz de Alcaraz and when he ran to Alfonso after denunciation of the Doctrina Christiana.

With his work temporarily cleared of charges of heresy by March 1529, Valdés might well have decided that it was perfectly safe for him to resume his studies at Alcalá. A letter of Gracián de Alderete to

---

[12] Above, p. 57.

[13] "Illud inter nos pactum esto, quotiescunque scripsero fratri tuo, tibi quoque scriptum esse; dein, quoties ille mihi responderit, a te quoque responsum esse" (Allen, Epist. Erasmi, VIII, p. 96). Caballero, Alonso y Juan, p. 183, sets the date of Juan's departure from Spain at February 1529. His whole theory, however, rests on the mistaken assumption that Juan's flight from Spain was caused by his authorship of the Mercurio y Caron.

Francisco Vergara in April indicates clearly[14] that Juan was back at Alcalá in the company of Francisco de Vergara. Not only was he back at Alcalá but apparently he was still trading monkish tales with Gracián and Vergara although Gracián, thinking perhaps of Juan's recent troubles, pointed out that these were not the best times for such stories.[15]

Three months later, in July 1529, Gracián wrote Juan, referring to the latter's studies of St. Paul and to his close relationship with Francisco de Vergara at Alcalá. The two friends, incidentally, were still up to their story-telling tricks.[16]

One is tempted to suggest that Juan remained at Alcalá until July 1529, joining his brother at Barcelona late that month to follow the court to Italy in August. Such a possibility is virtually nullified, however, by a letter of Erasmus to Juan in January 1530. In this letter Erasmus refers to Alfonso's absence from Spain, adding that it is right that Juan should be "there" (in Spain) to take the place of his brother, whom Erasmus expects to see "here" (in Freiburg) in the spring, when the court will be in Germany. Erasmus adds that he will not burden Juan

---

[14] "especially since you have with you Juan de Valdés" (above p. 22).

[15] "These are certainly not the times for such things" (above p.22).

[16] "Absit a juvene diui Pauli studiosissimo, ut velit malum pro malo reddere: praecipue in negotio fabularum ubi, etiam si velis tergiversari, religione impedireris. Scilicet eadem est tibi, quae mihi, diligentia, in sciscitandis fabulis, in earum veritate inquirenda, cujus rei noster Franciscus a Bergara est optimus testis" (ms. of the Duke of Alva, reproduced in Bataillon, Juan de Valdés, p. 59, n. 1).

with more details, as he can learn the rest from Francisco Dilfo[17] who cannot leave his beloved Spain at that time.[18]

The available evidence, scant as it is, indicates that Juan, after being cleared at Alcalá in 1529, continued his studies there and at the same time continued to indulge his flair for monkish stories at least until the early part of 1530. It is also apparent that the forces of religious conservatism arrayed against Valdés and his friends were not to be stopped by their defeats of 1527 at Valladolid and 1529 at Alcalá. The Suprema began to collect information for its proceso against Valdés some time between 1529 and 1531.[19] By August 1531 Valdés was in Italy, never to return to Spain. The conclusion is almost inescapable that having learned of the proceso being prepared against him, he escaped while he could.

---

[17]Francis Dilfus (Dilft, or, later, Van der Delft) of Antwerp, spent a few months at Erasmus' home in 1525 and 1527. In 1525 he held a canonry at Antwerp which he gave up after two years, as he wished to get married. In 1528 he visited Germany, carrying letters of introduction from Erasmus to the Duke of Saxony and Melanchthon, among others. About January 1530 he made a second trip to Spain and probably delivered Erasmus' letter to Juan in person. He was very successful in Spain and in 1544 was appointed by Charles as ambassador to the court of London. See biographical notice in Allen, Epist. Erasmi, VI, p. 256.

[18]"Nihil non debeo fratri tuo, Valdesi charissime, qui in me amando, tuendo, demerendo nullum seruat modum. Is quoniam abest, aequum est vt isthic mihi in germani vicem succedas: quem his, vti spero, vere proximo videbimus. Facile condono quod non respondes meis litteris, modo amore nutuo respondeas; quod te facere non dubito, nisi me fallunt omnia. Non onerabo te pluribus; caetera cognosces ex Francisco Dilfo, qui semel adamatam Hispaniam non potest relinquere" (Ibid., VIII, p. 320). Since there is no indication in this letter as to which Valdés it was written, Allen assumes it was written to Juan, as it obviously was not written to Alfonso. Montesinos, Dial. leng., p. XX, note 1, suggests it could have been written to Diego de Valdés, which seems unlikely.

[19]Above, p. 61.

The testimony of Juan de Vergara at his proceso [20] implies that Valdés' companion on his flight from Spain was Mateo Pascual, the rector of Alcalá in whose chambers the meetings of the examining commission were held in 1529.[21] In 1535 Gaspar de Lucena, speaking under torture[22] at the Vergara proceso, admitted the possibility that Juan and Pascual had gone to Rome together, according to information he had received from Juan de Vergara:

> Vergara himself told this witness [Lucena] that Juan de Valdés and maestro Pascual were also in Rome and it was possible they went together . . .[23]

By August 1531 Juan was in Rome where he presented himself, on the recommendation of Alfonso, to Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda.[24] In 1533 he

---

[20] Vergara proceso, fol. 129r-v.

[21] Above, p. 42. If Mateo Pascual did accompany Valdés to Italy this might be taken as further evidence that Juan remained at Alcalá until he decided to leave Spain.

[22] When Gaspar de Lucena was taken to the torture chamber Feb. 25, 1535 the inquisitors absolved themselves beforehand from any responsibility for physical harm to the witness, including his possible death under torment: "protestamos que si en el dho tormento muriere o perdiere algun miembro o oviere efusion de sangre, que sea a su culpa del dho Gaspar de Lucena e no a la nuestra" (Vergara proceso, fol. 352v).

[23] Vergara proceso, fols. 352v-353r. Two months later (April 23) Lucena said he didn't remember Vergara's comments as he had related them in February: "Y en quanto dize que le dixo asi mismo el dho doctor Vergara a este declarante que Juan de Valdes y el maestro Pascual que podria ser que se yrian juntos y que Dios les haria m[erce]d, e que en quanto dize que el doctor Bergara le dixo que podria h[a]zer por este testigo mas que esto . . . que no se acuerda avellas dich[o] este testigo" (unnumbered fol. between 354 and 355).

[24] Ltr. of Sepúlveda Aug. 26, 1531, to Alfonso Valdés, in Sepúlveda, Opera, III, p. 108; also ltr. of Alfonso to Sepúlveda Oct. 16, 1531, in ibid., III, p. 119. There is no question about Sepúlveda's orthodoxy. Although friendly with Erasmus he cautioned the Dutch humanist against going too far in his criticisms of the church lest he fall into heterodoxy (see Juan Beneyto Pérez, Ginés de Sepúlveda, humanista y soldado, Madrid, 1944, pp. 89-91).

served a short term as archivist for the city of Naples, having received the position as a substitute for Alfonso, who died in October 1532. By 1535 he had settled down permanently in Naples where he remained until his death in 1541, gathering about him a group of kindred religious spirits and writing extensively on theological matters.[25]

Although he never lost touch with his friends and relatives in the homeland[26] Juan de Valdés' career in Spain was now over, a fact of which he was probably completely aware. Juan de Vergara wrote Valdés and Pascual in Rome to tell them that their departure from Spain was taken as a sign that they had been up to no good. Pascual returned and was promptly jailed by the Inquisition. Juan de Valdés wisely held firm to his decision to remain where he was:

> Asked if he had advised any other persons who had absented themselves from Spain to return . . . he [Vergara] said that he had written to Juan de Valdés in Rome [telling him] that his absence was looked upon as a bad sign and that he should return for the sake of his honor . . . and he had also addressed another letter to maestro Pascual in the envelope [of the letter] for Juan de Valdés, writing to Pascual, who was [also] in Rome the same thing [he had written] to Juan de Valdés, because the same opinion was held about his [Pascual's] absence . . .
>
> The said Juan de Valdés replied to this witness, giving some reasons as an excuse for his [not] returning and saying that maestro Pascual had left for Spain and that the main reason he had left so suddenly [for Spain] was that he had

---

[25] Almost all works on Juan de Valdés deal almost exclusively with his Italian career, virtually no mention being made of his life in Spain.

[26] As can be seen by the provisions of his will, as well as in his letters to Cobos, comendador of León (see Croce, Giovanni di Valdés. Alfabeto Cristiano, Appendix, passim).

> been advised of the rumors in Spain about his absence, especially at Alcalá where there had been loud outbursts among the fellows against him, concerning a great dispute that had occurred there.[27]

October 9, 1535, in a letter to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, Juan stated his intention to remain in Italy indefinitely, "since the roads of Spain are closed by wars."[28] War indeed had closed the roads of Spain to such as Juan de Valdés. But it was not a war of clashing soldiers and broken bodies but a more subtle kind of war — a struggle between conflicting ideologies, in which the prize was control of men's minds. For Spain's Erasmists the crucial battle had been lost by 1531. Mopping up operations would take a few more decades.

27Vergara proceso, fol. 129r-v: testimony of Vergara June 28, 1533.

28"quando por guerras los caminos despaña estuviessen cerrados" (in José F. Montesinos, ed., Cartas inéditas de Juan de Valdés al Cardenal Gonzaga, Madrid, 1931, p. 17).

VIII

THE SPANISH INQUISITION

The Spanish phase of the career of Juan de Valdés and in particular, his difficulties with the Inquisition, reflect a pattern of events which began to shape themselves before the close of the fifteenth century. Had Valdés lived fifty years earlier it is very possible that his ideas, as expressed in the Doctrina Christiana, would have occasioned no unfavorable comment. But living as he did in an age in which the Spanish Church was becoming ever more sensitive on the subject of doctrinal deviation, he was forced to pay the penalty of unguarded expression.

The events leading to Valdés' flight from Spain and the persecution by the Inquisition of many of his friends with Erasmian leanings similar to his have their roots in a nationalistic religious policy whose outlines were beginning to take shape by 1492. In that fateful year, when the three caravels of Christopher Columbus were daring the watery perils of the unknown Atlantic, the Catholic kings of Spain forced the walls of Granada, bringing to a successful conclusion a crusade of nearly eight centuries against the Moslem infidel and achieving Spanish unity in the name of the Catholic faith.

With government and Church working closely together Ferdinand and Isabella set out to consolidate Spain's unity so recently won on the battlefield by adding to temporal union the binding ties of spiritual unity, achieving thereby a new national integration under the Spanish

crown, secure from the disintegrating influence of non-Christian and therefore alien ideology.

To assure the permanence of the union for which they had fought the Catholic kings had at hand an agency exclusively Spanish and Catholic — an independent Spanish Inquisition which, as a part of the royal system of councils was ultimately to become the principal agency in defense of the purity of the race and of Spanish religious conformity.[1]

Thanks to conditions attending its establishment the Spanish Inquisition was independent of the authority of Rome. In 1474 the crowns of Castile and Aragon were united under Ferdinand and Isabella. The new monarchs devoted the next few years of their reign to quelling the unruly nobles and settling the disputed succession claims of la Beltraneja. During this turbulent period Sixtus IV attempted to introduce the papal Inquisition into Spain by sending Nicolò Franco to Castile as papal legate, endowed with full inquisitorial powers to crack down on Spain's Judaizing conversos. The youthful monarchs would have none of such encroachments on their authority. They would attend to the conversos themselves, with an inquisition of their own making and subject to their own control.[2]

Accordingly in 1478, with affairs of the two kingdoms restored to a generally peaceful state, Ferdinand opened negotiations with Sixtus

---

[1]Cf. Cione, Juan de Valdés, p. 10: "La politica inquisitoriale in difesa della limpieza della razza e dell'unità religiosa, che nei secoli posteriori è divenuta caratteristica della Spagna, non s'inizia, in verità, che con Ferdinando il Cattolico."

[2]Henry C. Lea, A History of the Inquisition of Spain, 4 vols., New York, 1922, I, pp. 154-5, 172.

IV for the establishment of a Spanish Inquisition, insisting upon the crown's right to make its own appointments and dismissals of Inquisition officials. Anxious to assure unity of the faith in the Iberian peninsula Sixtus yielded to the crown's demands and authorized the founding of an inquisition virtually independent of the Holy See and under the control of the Spanish rulers.[3]

With control of the new institution assured, Ferdinand and Isabella incorporated it into their system of governing councils in 1483 as the Consejo de la Suprema y General Inquisición, a title soon shorted to the Suprema. A new office of Inquisitor general was created and filled by the monarchs' private confessor, the Dominican friar Thomás de Torquemada, who was empowered to modify the inquisitorial procedure to make it more adaptable for use in Spain, thereby virtually assuring the Inquisition's powers of self government.[4]

During the lifetime of the vigorous and redoubtable Ferdinand affairs of the Suprema were kept under the strict jurisdiction of the crown. With the death of Ferdinand in 1516 and the ensuing indecision in government circles caused by the inability of Queen Juana to rule and the absence of young Charles, much of the inquisitorial power formerly wielded by Ferdinand passed into the hands of the Suprema, which immediately took over Ferdinand's functions in regulating the details of its operation. By 1517 much of the appointment power had passed into the hands of the Suprema, it had gained almost complete control over its own

---

[3] Ibid., I, p. 290.
[4] Ibid., I, p. 181.

finances and it had usurped the authority, formerly exercised by Ferdinand, of regulating details of and giving instructions to the local tribunals, over which it early assumed absolute control.[5] In a few years the Suprema was strong enough to assert and maintain its right to interpose its authority between the king and the local tribunals, so that no royal commands to the tribunals could be obeyed unless first approved by the Suprema.[6]

While the Inquisition was expanding its power and authority in Spain it was leaving a trail of abuses which led to insistent demands for reform. Complaints of pecuniary corruption within the organization were common and some of its officials were accused of using their authority to persecute their enemies for reasons of personal dislike. During his term as Inquisitor general of Castile from 1507 to 1517 Ximénez tried to effect some reforms by dismissing some of the more obnoxious inquisitors, but his authority was not sufficient to enable him to go as far as he wished. After the death of Ferdinand in 1516 Ximénez, as temporary governor of Spain until the arrival of Charles, was strong enough to remove some of the worst offenders, including Juan Ortiz de Zarate, secretary of the Suprema.[7]

Opponents of the Suprema, however, sought reforms more far-reaching than the mere removal of individual offenders and even before he left

---

[5] Ibid., I, p. 298; II, pp. 189-190, 164-5.

[6] Ibid., I, pp. 325-6; IV, p. 12.

[7] Ibid., I, p. 215. Except where indicated otherwise, supporting data for the following few pages on the Inquisition between 1516 and 1523 can be found in Ibid., I, pp. 216-223.

Flanders to assume the Spanish crown Charles was being importuned to restrict the power of the Inquisition.[8] In 1516 he was visited at his court in Flanders by Spaniards who presented lurid accounts of the activities of the Holy Office which, if allowed to continue, would bring about the ruination of Spain. That these pleas were not without effect is evidenced by a letter of Charles April 30, 1516, to Ximénez, recommending that justice be observed in the affairs of the Inquisition.[9]

Although, as already noted, he was anxious to assure honesty among the personnel of the Suprema, Ximénez was strongly opposed to any tampering with the institution's prerogatives. Under pressure by Ximénez the Council of Castile wrote the future emperor advising him that the peace of his kingdom and the maintenance of his authority depended on his support of the Inquisition.

Ximénez took a hand personally in the campaign to win Charles over to the side of the Inquisition. Adrian of Utrecht, Charles' tutor, was acting as his representative in Spain in 1516. To gain Adrian as an ally would greatly enhance the case in favor of the Inquisition, in view of Adrian's considerable influence over young Charles. The death in June 1516 of Bishop Mercader, Inquisitor general of Aragon, provided Ximénez with his opportunity. Although this would have seemed a logical moment to reunite under his control the Inquisitions of Aragon and Castile which had been divided since 1507, Ximénez resisted the temptation to

---

[8]Charles speaks of this in the introduction to his pragmática of 1518 (below, pp. 84ff).

[9]Foronda, Estancias y viajes, p. 74.

enhance his own personal power by adding to his generalship of the Inquisition of Castile that of Aragon. Instead, in view of the pressure on Charles being exerted by the opponents of the Suprema, Ximénez took the longer view in the best interests of the institution and urged upon Charles the appointment of Adrian to the post left vacant by the death of Mercader. Charles complied readily[10] and Adrian was commissioned Inquisitor general of Aragon November 14, 1516.

However, Charles apparently continued to entertain ideas of reform for the Holy Office and it was rumored that he was considering the abolition of the inquisitorial practice of keeping secret the names of its witnesses. Alarmed, Ximénez sent his secretary to Charles' court in March 1517 with orders to resist all attempts by Charles to carry out such a proposal and followed with a strongly worded letter to Charles, advising him against such a move. He called Charles' attention to the fact that Ferdinand and Isabella had taken such great care in drawing up the regulations governing the Inquisition that the institution not only did not need reforming but that it would be a sin to attempt reform. It would give the Catalonians and the Pope an excuse to criticize the Inquisition and it would be a boon to the conversos, who had unsuccessfully offered 600,000 ducats to Ferdinand for such a concession. Follow the example of your grandfather, said Ximénez, and do not discredit the names of the Catholic kings. He then cited the story of a converso convicted of backsliding, who discovered the name of the witness who had

---

[10]Ltr. of July 20, 1516 (Foronda, Estancias y viajes, p. 77).

deposed against him, and sought him out and killed him. Such would be the result of any change in the practice of the Holy Office of keeping secret the names of its witnesses; it would obviously ruin the effectiveness of the tribunal and the cause of God would suffer thereby:

> Your Majesty must know that the Catholic Kings exercised such great care on the laws and institutions of this Holy Tribunal, examining them with so much prudence, care and conscience, that it seems there will never be a need for reforming them and it will be a sin to change them. And on the present occasion my grief [would be] all the greater, as the Catalonians and His Holiness will use it as a pretext for heaping scorn on the Inquisition.
>
> I admit that the needs of Your Majesty are probably considerable, but even greater were those of the Catholic King Don Fernando, Your Majesty's grandfather, and although the same <u>conversos</u> offered him six hundred thousand gold ducats [so that he could carry on] the war of Navarre, he did not accept them because he put the cult and observance of the Christian religion before [all else], and because he preferred God and His faith to all the riches and gold in the world; therefore he left the laws of this Tribunal more firmly fixed [than ever].
>
> With the proper humility of a vassal and because of the zeal which I must have for the office in which Your Majesty has placed me, I beg you to open your eyes, to keep before you this singular and recent example of your grandfather and not to allow any changes in the Inquisition, remembering that regardless of the protest of its enemies, it has been established by the Catholic Kings of glorious memory, and if even the smallest reform is made not only would it discredit the honor of the all powerful God, but it would be an insult to the glory of your grandparents.
>
> If these suggestions do not convince Your Majesty, perhaps you will be impressed by what happened recently in Talavera de la Reina. A recently converted Jew was punished by the Inquisition for Judaizing; when he found out the [name of] the witness who had informed against him, he sought him out and meeting him on the road he ran him through with his lance and killed him. So great is their infamy and the hatred engendered that if this matter isn't remedied, and if an order is given to publish the [names of] witnesses,

> not only in some solitary place but in the square itself and even in the Church, they will kill the witness[es]. Besides this there would be even greater inconveniences, not the least of which [would be] that noone will wish to inform because of the danger to his life, with the result that the Tribunal will be ruined and the cause of God will have noone to defend it. I trust that the Catholic blood of Your Majesty will prevail and that you will remember that it is a Tribunal of God and a famous act of your grandparents.[11]

Despite the efforts of Ximénez to rid the Inquisition of corrupt personnel, open opposition to the Holy Office had been increasing since the death of Ferdinand. In September 1517 the Suprema complained that when it moved with the court the alcaldes of the palace refused to furnish mules and wagons to transport its books and papers and personnel or at most did so only after all the other government departments had been supplied. Before his arrival in Spain Charles was obliged three times to order the counsellors of Barcelona to refrain from introducing innovations in the affairs of the Inquisition and not to disturb the inquisitors in the exercise of their offices.[12] At the same time the city of Avila was defying the Holy Office by offering shelter to condemned persons,

---

[11] This letter appears in Pascual Gayangos and Vicente de la Fuente, Cartas del cardenal don fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, dirigidas á don Diego López de Ayala, Madrid, 1877, pp. 261-3. Lea, apparently working from the original, describes this document in I, p. 217. Gayangos and la Fuente are working from a copy of whose authenticity they are uncertain (see note 1, p. 261). It is obvious, however, that the copy reproduced by the latter two, although it may vary in some details from the one used by Lea, nevertheless accurately reproduces the spirit of the original, particularly since the same version is quoted by Llorente in his Memoria histórica sobre qual ha sido la opinión nacional de España acerca del tribunal de la Inquisición, Madrid, 1812, pp. 220-2.

[12] Foronda, Estancias y viajes, pp. 79, 89, 92.

necessitating a decree by Charles in August 1518 prohibiting the city from taking in persons condemned by the Inquisition.[13]

September 1517 Charles arrived in Spain. At his first Cortes, convoked in Valladolid in January 1518, he was presented by the deputies with a petition for reform of the Inquisition. The petitioners asked that the Inquisition be required to proceed in such a way that justice would be assured and that innocent persons would not be made to suffer. The judges should be men of good repute and good conscience and the principles of both canon and common law should be followed in the proceedings of the Holy Office.[14]

Despite the pressure exerted on behalf of the Holy Office by the Council of Castile and Cardinal Ximénez, Charles gave such serious consideration to the Valladolid request that it appeared momentarily that the Inquisition would soon find its activities seriously curbed. After a series of consultations with his advisors he was persuaded to draw up a comprehensive plan for reform of the Inquisition which if carried into effect would have seriously crippled its control of religious affairs in Spain.

---

[13] Ibid., p. 127.

[14] "Otrosi: suplicamos á V. A. mande proveer que en el oficio de la santa Inquisicion se proceda de manera que se guarde entera justicia, y los malos sean castigados, y los buenos inocentes no padezcan, guardando los sacros cánones y derecho comun que en esto hablan: y que los jueces que para esto se pusieren sean generosos y de buena fama y conciencia, y de la edad que el derecho manda, tales que se presuma que guardarán justicia, y que los ordinarios sean jueces conforme a derecho" (Llorente, Memoria Histórica, pp. 157-8 and 164-5. Cf. Manuel Colmeiro, Cortes de los antiguos Reinos de Leon y de Castilla, 2 vols., Madrid, 1883-4, II, pp. 97-8).

According to Peter Martyr[15] Charles' reform program was shaped largely through the efforts of his chancellor Jean le Sauvage, to whom the conversos gave ten thousand ducats with a promise of ten thousand more in return for his support of the reform program. Whether the story is true or not (and one might well question Martyr on the ground of bias)[16] it is very likely that Charles' chancellor did have much to do with formulating the reform plan. Accordingly, Charles issued a pragmática in 1518, listing the complaints he had received against the Inquisition and outlining the steps for its reform.

Because this elaborate document gives an enlightening glimpse of the conditions in Spain attendant on the disputes which swirled angrily about the Holy Office it is worth close scrutiny. Addressing himself to all officials of the secular arm as well as to those of the Inquisition Charles explained that while in Flanders he had heard many stories of abuses by corrupt officials, resulting in the injury and death of many persons. Since it was his duty to insure justice to his subjects he had consulted with many learned men to seek their opinions on the proper mode of procedure. He then noted the petition presented to him by the Cortes at Valladolid for reform of the Inquisition and stated that as a result of this petition he had taken up the matter with his council and had decided that the Inquisition should be guided by

---

[15] Opus epistolarum, ltrs. 620 and 622.

[16] Lea, I, p. 218, n. 1, points out that Las Casas' opinion of Sauvage credits him with great intelligence and rectitude (Hist. de las Indias, Bk. III, chaps. 99, 103, 130).

the following rules:[17]

JUDGES

1. That judges be chosen from men of good reputation and of legal age (over 40).

2. That salaries of officials be paid on a fixed basis, instead of depending on confiscations and fines made by these same officials.

3. That no grants be made to such officials from property or benefices confiscated by those whom they had condemned.

4. That the prisoner have the right to demand examination, by arbiters versed in canon law, of the qualifications of the inquisitor.

5. That inspectors, not connected with the Inquisition, be sent every two years to examine the procedures of the local tribunals, to hear complaints against them and to render such justice as they deem necessary.

6. That judges and other officials found guilty of malfeasance in office be removed and punished, rather than merely being transferred to another post.

7. That those persons who complain of abuses by Inquisition officials not be imprisoned or mistreated for making such complaints.

8. That officials swear to execute their office faithfully; that they not advise anyone beforehand to ask for the property or benefices of persons not yet condemned; that the condemned be allowed to appeal to the Council without being mistreated for having made such an appeal.

9. That the inquisitors not be allowed to hunt for witnesses against persons who have never been denounced; nor that they take testimony from prisoners or persons under torment to be used against one who has never been denounced.

---

[17]This entire pragmática is reproduced in Llorente, Memoria histórica, pp. 160-183.

10. That when a witness called to testify in a case against a suspected heretic denounces someone else, he must be questioned thoroughly to determine whether or not his denunciation is motivated by reasons of personal malice against the person whom he has accused.

PRISONERS

11. That noone be imprisoned until his accusers have been thoroughly examined for their reliability and until the evidence against the accused is such that it appears certain he will be found guilty in accordance with proper legal procedure.

12. That prisoners be lodged in public jails under commodious conditions and that they not be deprived from hearing mass and receiving the sacraments while in prison.

13. That prisoners be allowed to receive visits from their wives, children, friends, relatives and legal advisers.

14. That prisoners be allowed legal advisers of their own choosing and not be compelled to accept advisers whom they don't want.

15. That prisoners, immediately after their incarceration, be advised of the exact nature of the charges against them, including the time and place of the alleged crime, so that they can properly prepare their defense.

16. That prisoners be given a copy of the accusation, including the names of the witnesses who have testified against them.

17. That before he appears on the witness stand, the prisoner be given a copy of the questions which he is to be asked.

18. That the entire proceedings be published, including the names of all witnesses and the time and place of their testimony; that the names of all witnesses not be withheld from anyone, except in the trial of a duke, marquis, count, bishop, or other high prelate whose position might enable him to do harm to those who testify against him.

19. That when the name of a witness is withheld from such a powerful person, the latter be permitted to appeal for release of the name and that his case be held up until a decision has been made on this appeal.

20. That torture be applied with moderation and according to the seriousness of the charge and the conclusiveness of the evidence; that some of the new devices for torture be abandoned.

21. That a prisoner cannot be subjected to torture a second time unless new evidence has developed since his first treatment.

22. That torture cannot be applied to a prisoner for the purpose of extracting information about someone else.

23. That torture cannot be applied to one whose defense has complied with the proper legal procedure.

24. That the prisoner has the right to appeal his sentence; that until such appeal has been heard no part of the sentence can be carried out, nor can the prisoner be deprived of his goods.

25. That when sentence is about to be passed, the party involved must be present with his counsel to insure that everything is in order and that no evidence in his case has been omitted.

26. That when the evidence is insufficient for condemnation the prisoner may not be punished or fined merely because the judges state that their suspicions are strong enough to warrant a condemnation despite the lack of evidence.

VINDICATIONS

27. That the accused be allowed to call in his own defense any witnesses who will attest to his innocence and that he be allowed to interrogate them first to assure himself that they will speak in his favor.

28. That the testimony of witnesses may be checked and that those found guilty of perjury shall be punished for the crime of which they had accused the defendant.

29. That those who have confessed their guilt and have been reconciled to the Church not be seized again on the ground that their confession did not meet exact legal requirements, or that they had forgotten to include certain details in their confession; that those who are presently languishing in prison on these charges be freed immediately; if necessary a papal bull will be obtained absolving such persons of guilt so that they can be reconciled to the faith.

30. That there be an end to the practice of seizing the children, grandchildren and other relatives of condemned persons on the ground that the former are guilty of heresy by virtue of their relationship with the condemned.

31. That there be an end to the practice of keeping lists of the names of persons condemned or reconciled by the Inquisition, as this works great hardship on their relatives and descendants who have remained true to the faith; also that persons condemned to life imprisonment be given other sentences because in prison they die of starvation and are of no use to anyone.

32. That entrance into a monastic order not be denied anyone on the ground that he is descended from conversos, since God is not interested in one's origin but in his sincerity of purpose.

CONFISCATIONS

33. That one's imprisonment does not justify confiscation of his property.

34. That the accused be permitted to spend what is necessary for his own defense and for the maintenance of his wife and family without any limits being imposed on the amount of such expenditure.

35. That a condemned man's property must go to his children or other descendants of the Catholic faith and cannot be taken from them.

36. That no disposition may be made of the goods of a prisoner until confiscation has been authorized by sentence passed against him.

37. That canon law be followed in all aspects of the trial without regard to any customs or instructions formulated independently of the canon law.

38. That the canon law requirement stated above be confirmed by a papal bull to that effect.

39. That the canon law requirement be observed in all pending cases as well as in future ones and that until issuance of the papal bull all inquisitors act in accordance with these provisions.

The pragmática then ends with instructions to all inquisitors to observe the rules set forth above until a papal bull of confirmation has been obtained.

Had this document been published it would undoubtedly have effected a considerable change in inquisitorial procedure and greatly weakened the power of the Holy Office. But the foresighted policy of the recently deceased Ximénez had paid good dividends. Adrian of Utrecht, now Inquisitor general of Aragon, prevailed upon his former pupil to withhold publication of the pragmática until the meeting of the Cortes of Aragon at Zaragoza in 1518-19. Charles agreed and March 22, 1518[18] he left Valladolid for Aragon there to convoke the Cortes at Zaragoza.

Before the business of the Cortes of Zaragoza could get under way the pestilence carried off Charles' Burgundian chancellor Jean le Sauvage on June 7,[19] thus removing from the scene one of the principal

---

[18]Foronda, Estancias y viajes, p. 120; Roger B. Merriman, The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New, 4 vols., New York, 1918-1934, III, p.37.

[19]Merriman, Rise of the Spanish Empire, III, p. 39; Colmeiro, Cortes de Leon y Castilla, II, p. 102; "Murió el gran Canciller en Zaragoza el ano 1518, con muy pocas lagrimas de los españoles, de quien fué sumamente aborrecido."

supporters of Charles' reform plan. If Sauvage had not died at this critical moment even the considerable influence of Adrian might not have been sufficient to stem the tide of reform. Charles having agreed to withhold publication of the pragmática until he could hear from his Aragonese subjects at Zaragoza, the issue probably would have been decided by the attitude of the Cortes there, which met in late 1518 and early 1519.[20] The hostility of the Aragonese toward the Inquisition was made manifest at this time when Charles was presented with a list of thirty-one proposed reforms which repeated virtually the same provisions outlined in the pragmática drawn up at Valladolid.

In reply to the deputies at Zaragoza Charles said it was his will that the Inquisition observe the canon law in all its operations, that any questions of interpretation should be referred to the Pope, that anyone who wished to complain against the Inquisition should have the right to a hearing before impartial judges and that he personally would guarantee secular justice.[21]

Then came a tactical error on the part of the Inquisition's opponents which probably did more for the cause of the Inquisition than the efforts of all its supporters. The deputies at Zaragoza took Charles at his word. Juan Prat, notary of the Cortes, collected the minutes of the meeting pertaining to the discussion centering about the reform of the Holy Office and the Aragonese deputies dispatched an

---

[20] Llorente, Memoria histórica, p. 188.

[21] Ibid., pp. 189-196 for the Zaragoza petition and Charles' reply.

agent to Rome to secure papal confirmation of the reforms proposed in the Cortes.[22]

Leo X, who was eager to bring the Spanish Inquisition under Roman supervision, took advantage of his unexpected opportunity; in July 1519 he issued three briefs, one directed to Charles, another to Inquisitor general Adrian and a third to the inquisitors of Zaragoza, revoking all the special privileges conceded by his predecessors and bringing the Spanish Inquisition under the authority of the canon law, thus reducing the institution to the same level as other ecclesiastical tribunals.

Charles had been pricked where he was most sensitive. While willing to entertain proposals of reform of the Inquisition he would not tolerate the merest suggestion that he give up crown authority over the Suprema. When Adrian, who was on his way to Barcelona with Charles, heard that an agent had been sent to Rome, he communicated the news to the Emperor and was promptly granted authority to proceed against those responsible for the mission to the Pope. The unlucky Prat, who had supplied the documentary evidence for papal examination, was jailed on May 6; the next day Charles wrote Leo X from Barcelona, explaining that the Pontiff had been deceived by the falsified evidence of Juan Prat, and in vain asked His Holiness to take no action on the basis of such testimony. At the same time he wrote to Luis Carroz, his ambassador in Rome, instructing him that he would brook no interference in the affairs of the Spanish Inquisition and that the institution would

---

[22] Ibid., pp. 197-202.

function on the principles established by Ferdinand:

> We are completely agreed, as a matter of policy, not to permit any changing or tampering with the holy office of the Inquisition; thus I was charged in his will by the Catholic king, my señor, may he be in heaven, who attributed to God all the victories and successful conclusions to the things which he had begun, and which we see by daily experience to be necessary; and the name and title which we bear as Catholic obliges us even more to the same end.[23]

A few days later a deputation of Aragonese officials wrote to Charles requesting the release of Prat on the ground that his actions were justified by Charles' promises of reform made to the Cortes just a few months before. Charles' reply dashed the hopes of the reform advocates and indicated clearly the change in his attitude caused by the appeal to Rome. Under no circumstances whatsoever would he betray his conscience; he would prefer to lose part of his kingdom than to dishonor God by tampering with the Holy Office:

> You must know that for no selfish interest will we forget our soul and conscience; and be assured that rather would we consent to lose part of our kingdoms and estates than to allow to be done in them anything against the will of God and to the discredit of the said Holy Office.[24]

Charles had evidently made up his mind. Gone from his thoughts was the grandiose reform plan of 1518. Ximénez and Adrian had done their work well, while the untimely death of Sauvage and the unwise appeal to

---

[23] In ibid., pp. 201-2.

[24] In ibid., pp. 203-4.

Rome had played into the hands of the Suprema's supporters. In vain did the deputies at the Cortes of Coruña in 1520 repeat the request for reform made at Valladolid two years before.[25] Charles sailed for Flanders May 20, 1520[26] to be crowned King of the Romans at Aachen.

Hope springs eternal. In 1523 the Emperor was back in Spain and again convoked the Cortes at Valladolid. At this new session the deputies repeated the petition of 1518, adding that nothing had yet been done about reform of the Inquisition.[27]

Their efforts were in vain. By 1523 new forces beginning to take shape in Charles' German dominions were to quench any spark of inquisitorial reform which might yet have lingered in the mind of the young Emperor. In 1517 Martin Luther posted his ninety-five Theses on the door of the castle church in Wittenburg, in protest against Tetzel's indiscriminate sale of indulgences for the benefit of the young Archbishop of Mainz. Two years later John Eck's debating skill at Leipzig backed Luther into heresy and an invitation to the German nobility to throw off the authority of Rome. In 1521 the impassioned rebel reaffirmed his heretical beliefs in the presence of Charles himself and, outlawed by the Diet of Worms, was spirited away to the castle of the Wartburg under the protection of the Elector of Saxony.

The significance of this revolt could hardly have been lost on

---

[25] Colmeiro, Cortes de León y Castilla, II, p. 110: "reclamaron la reforma de la justicia en el tribunal de la Inquisición."

[26] Foronda, Estancias y viajes, p. 169.

[27] Lea, I, pp. 222-3; Colmeiro, Cortes de León y Castilla, II, p. 121.

Charles whose German dominions were threatened with political disruption in the name of religious revolt. The thought of curbing an institution which would prevent just such difficulties from occurring by acting as a watchdog against heresy, must now have been completely driven from his mind. To the Valladolid appeal of 1523 he replied only by announcing that he had chosen as Inquisitor general Alonso Manrique, Archbishop of Seville and had especially charged him to see that justice was administered.[28] In the same year, however, he issued an edict forbidding all municipalities or other bodies from adopting laws in any way restricting the privileges of the Inquisition, adding that if any such laws should be passed they were declared in advance to be null and void.[29]

In 1525 a complaint[30] of the deputies at the Cortes of Toledo against inquisitorial malpractices received only the vague promise that if abuses existed they would be corrected. The Inquisition had a new and stronger lease on life, which was not to fall due for three hundred years.

---

[28] Lea, I, p. 223.

[29] Ibid., I, p. 365.

[30] Colmeiro, Cortes de León y Castilla, II, p. 134: "se entrometian en muchas cosas que no eran de su jurisdiccion ni dependientes del Santo Oficio, y sentenciaban y penaban á muchas personas sin tener jurisdiccion sobre ellas y contra todo órden de derecho." Cf. Lea, I, pp. 222-3.

IX

ERASMISM AND THE INQUISITION

Having weathered the storm whipped up against it by the supporters of reform, the Inquisition by 1523 emerged with greater power and independence than it had ever enjoyed before. Despite its great victory, however, it seemed at the moment that its career must come to an end since Judaism, which had motivated its establishment, had been virtually extirpated from Spain.

However, Luther's revolt, although it enjoyed few if any adherents in Spain in the early 1520's, opened up an entirely new and unlimited field of operations for the Holy Office. Despite the negligible influence in Spain of Luther's doctrines, his rejection of Roman authority and his attacks on orthodox dogma created the need for a far more rigid definition of orthodoxy than had hitherto been deemed necessary. The inevitable result was the development of an acute sensitivity to religious deviation and men who might always have considered themselves good Catholics were to find that their opinions, which might have escaped notoriety before 1520, did not square with the increasingly rigid concepts of orthodoxy brought about by the reaction against the Lutheran heresy.

As the watchdog of orthodoxy in Spain, the Inquisition early took the offensive against two groups which had risen to some prominence by 1525 — the iluminists and the Erasmists. In the case of the

iluminists victory was quick and easy, their doctrine being condemned by an edict of the Inquisition September 23, 1525.[1] A close check was maintained, however, on suspected devotees of the movement and Loyola was jailed in 1527 and submitted to three examinations for suspected iluminist leanings.[2]

If the iluminists could be controlled with relative ease Spain's Erasmists presented a much more difficult problem. The Dutch humanist had long been popular in Spain and Ximénez, who had wished to attach him to the University of Alcalá, had once invited him to come to Spain.[3] Despite his merciless ridicule of the monastic orders and his attacks on Church formalism, his repudiation of Luther in 1521 served to clarify his position toward the new heresy. He was admired by the Emperor and counted on a considerable following at Charles' court. The two most important clerical posts in Spain were held by his enthusiasts Alonso

---

[1] Cione, Juan de Valdés, pp. 11-12.

[2] Fidel Fita, "Los tres procesos de S. Ignacio de Loyola en Alcalá de Henares", in Bol. Real Acad. Hist., XXXIII (1898), pp. 422-61. Released in June 1527 Loyola was forbidden to preach or teach for a period of three years, after which time he must secure authorization from his superiors. Failure to obey would be punished by excommunication and perpetual exile. Cf. Bataillon, Érasme, pp. 230-1 and Lea, IV, pp. 14-5. Bataillon, in Juan de Valdés, p. 250, tells of a conversation which Loyola, after his release, had with the prior of the Dominican monastery of San Esteban in Salamanca. The prior took occasion to warn Loyola of the need for circumspection in matters of religion because of the prevalence of Erasmian errors as well as others which have filled the world with deceit.

[3] Bataillon, Érasme, p. 82; Johan Huizinga, Erasmus, New York and London, 1924, p. 120.

Manrique, Inquisitor general and Archbishop of Seville, and Alonso Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain.

Two factors, however, made the Inquisition and Erasmus incompatible. One was the feeling that although he might declare his opposition to Luther, Erasmus' attacks upon certain Church practices gave too much comfort to its enemies. Another factor was the resentment felt by the Inquisitors, who were largely friars themselves, against Erasmus' criticisms of their monastic institutions. Certainly if such license to criticize the Church and the monks were allowed to continue unchecked the Holy Office might be laughed out of power.

The problem of silencing Erasmus was a delicate one in view of his great popularity in high circles, and the first serious attempt was to meet with failure. In 1527 Alonso Fernández de Madrid, Archdeacon of Alcor, issued a translation of the Enchiridion with a dedication to Inquisitor general Manrique, who had approved its publication. Writing to Erasmus from Brussels in March Luis Vives advised his friend of the translation which he considered a healthy thing for the people who were so accustomed to being dominated by the friars.[4]

The friars could hardly be expected to share the enthusiasm of Vives. The book was immediately attacked from the pulpits, which were largely monopolized by the religious orders.[5] But the friars were not

---

[4]"En España, tu Enquiridion empezó a hablar en nuestra lengua y aun a favor del pueblo, que solía estar dominado por los frailes" (ltr. of March 18, 1527, in Vives, Obras completas, II, p. 1707).

[5]Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, "Erasmo en España (episodio de la historia del Renacimiento)", in Revue Hisp., XVII (1907), p. 429; Lea, III, p. 414; Bataillon, Érasme, pp. 253ff. For a sample of these attacks, as reported by Gracián de Alderete, see above, pp. 23-4.

yet powerful enough to silence their critics. The partisans of Erasmus, under the leadership of Alfonso de Valdés,[6] worked to bring the issue to a head immediately. In March 1527, Inquisitor general Manrique summoned an assembly of theologians and friars to meet at Valladolid, there to settle the question of heresy of which Erasmus had been charged by the friars.[7] While the debates were going on at Valladolid[8] Vives was writing to Erasmus in June about the latter's cause, which he considered the "cause of religion and letters." The friars, he added, are so afraid that one little book (the Enchiridion) will knock them off their high peak of opulence and power that they are assaulting its author like a horde of savages.[9]

When he heard that the friars were demanding action by the Inquisition against Erasmus and his followers, Vives was astounded. How

---

[6]Bonilla, "Erasmo en España", p. 445.

[7]For a description of the debates at this conference see Bataillon, Érasme, ch. V, passim. Extracts from the original acts of these sessions were published by Antonio Paz y Melia and Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Actas originales de las congregaciones celebradas en Valladolid en 1527 para examinar las doctrinas de Erasmo", in Rev. Arch. Bib. y Mus., VI (1902), pp. 60-73.

[8]Among other things, Erasmus was accused of being unfriendly to the Inquisition, of opposing temporal punishment of heretics, of preferring matrimony to virginity (surely not Erasmus!), of irreverence toward veneration of saints, images, pilgrimages, relics, (Paz y Melia, "Actas originales", passim).

[9]"Poseídos los frailes del convencimiento de que no debía ser que la lectura de un solo libro les derribase de la cumbre empecinada de su dignidad, de su opulencia, de su poderío y de tantas ostras fortunas, arremetieron contra el autor en tropel fiero" (Obras completas, II, p. 1709, ltr. of June 13, 1527). On July 12 Vives wrote Francisco Cranevelt: "En esa rala de hombres lo insoportable es que sean tan hostiles a los doctos todos: los desemejantes con los desemejantes; contubierno de perros y de gatos" (ibid., pp. 1780-1).

could they be such liars? If you, he wrote to Juan de Vergara, were to examine your writings as closely as they are examing those of Erasmus, you could find heresy there if you were determined to do so (a prophetic comment for Vergara!) The result of ald this outcry will be that nobody will be able to say anything without being accused of heresy:

> I received the news, later confirmed by letters, . . . that an accusation was begun against [the Erasmists] and that it is also asked that an inquest be opened against them. Where do they get such lies? I would never have suspected such a thing was possible. If you will make as careful a scrutiny of your writings as they are making of those of Erasmus you will find even more intolerable phrases except that custom and usage have softened many such phrases [so that they pass unnoticed].
>
> [However], with such a state of affairs [as we are now witnessing] it won't be long before noone will be able to profess or defend [his ideas] with any interpretation or minor distinction, [for fear of being accused of saying something] behind which a heretic can take shelter.[10]

Vives' fears were soon to be justified. For the moment, however, he could breathe more easily. After a long series of debates at Valladolid Manrique suspended the assemblage and at the same time issued an order forbidding the publication of any attacks against Erasmus.[11] Archbishop Fonseca sent Erasmus two hundred ducats as a token of his benevolence and in December the Emperor himself wrote Erasmus that he need have no fear of any unfavorable decision being made about his writings since he personally was convinced of Erasmus' Christian piety.[12]

---

[10]Ltr. of Aug. 14, 1527 to Juan de Vergara, in Obras completas, II, p. 1736.

[11]Lea, III, p. 414.

[12]Ltr. of Dec. 13, 1527, in Caballero, Alonso y Juan, pp. 350-1.

The victory of Erasmus at Valladolid had been made possible by the support of high Church officials working closely with some of the leading humanists and theologians of the Erasmian school in Spain. The tacit support of Charles, whose court was dominated by Erasmists, loomed large throughout the proceedings. But defeat was not a rout. It remained only for the monastic orders, working through the Inquisition, to regroup their forces for a new assault which in the end would bring victory. Erasmus and his Spanish followers were the main opponents, to be attacked at the first favorable opportunity.[13]

Diego de Uceda, an hidalgo of Córdoba, was one of the first to discover that the Valladolid affair did not bring immunity for the Erasmists in Spain.[14] In February 1528, while on his way from Burgos to Córdoba he fell into a discussion with one Rodrigo Durán and his servant Juan de Avella, who were travelling to Seville to take ship for the new world. The subject of confession and images came up and Diego, a great admirer of Erasmus, began to quote the latter's views on these and related matters, the name of Luther somehow getting mixed up in the conversation. When Durán reached Toledo he promptly denounced Diego, who was tracked down at Córdoba and sent back as a prisoner to Toledo. In vain Diego protested his innocence, bringing witnesses who

---

[13]Cf. Serran y Sanz, "Juan de Vergara", p. 896: "por otra parte, la Inquisición no miraba con buenos ojos á Erasmo, quien siempre la había tratado con poco respeto, y aun en el fondo de su corazón la odiaba, contemporizando con ella porque así le convenía. La persecución de los erasmistas se acercaba."

[14]The following account is taken from Lea, III, p. 415.

testified to his orthodoxy. He was tortured, he confessed and then revoked and finally was condemned to a humiliating penance which ruined his career and his family name.[15]

If the Inquisition could proceed with impunity against such as Diego it had to be more cautious in its attacks on those Erasmists who enjoyed the support of influential friends. The attack on Juan de Valdés early in 1529 failed because of the efforts made in his behalf by Manrique and Fonseca and also because of Juan's influence in Erasmian circles close to the Emperor, where his brother Alfonso held the important post of secretary to Charles.

By the end of 1529 however, the picture had changed so radically that the Inquisition was able to begin wholesale persecution of the leading Erasmists in Spain. In July Charles left Spain for his coronation in Italy, taking with him his Erasmian court. With the biggest obstacle temporarily gone from the scene there still remained Inquisitor general Manrique who had played such an important role in support of Erasmus in 1527 and of Juan de Valdés in the early months of 1529.

By December Manrique obligingly removed himself from the scene. When Charles left for Italy in June he entrusted Luisa de Acuña, heiress of the Count of Valencia, to the care of the Empress during his absence.[16] Of the three eager suitors for the hand of Luisa one was Manrique's cousin

---

[15] Bataillon, Juan de Valdés, pp. 264-5: Uceda abjured July 22, 1529. One of the charges levelled against Uceda was on his attitude toward confession as being necessary only because it was a commandment of the Church. In his defense of April 4, 1528 Uceda defended his position by citing Erasmus' colloquy Pietas Puerilis, in which the Dutch humanist discusses confession in language similar to that of Valdés in the Doctrina Christiana (see below, pp. 118ff).

[16] The following account is taken from Lea, I, p. 304.

the Count of Treviños, heir apparent to the Duke of Najera. When the Empress put the much sought after maid in the convent of San Domingo el Real of Toledo for safekeeping, Manrique introduced his cousin into the convent and the two were married on the spot, before an altar thoughtfully prepared in advance. Furious at this abuse of his ecclesiastical privileges, the Empress banished Manrique from the court to his see until the Emperor's return in 1533. On Charles' return Manrique was restored to his place at court only to fall into disgrace again in 1534 and return to his see where he remained until his death in 1538.

With Charles out of Spain and Manrique in disgrace events followed in too clear a pattern to be explained as mere coincidence. In December 1529, the month of Manrique's disgrace, Vergara's half brother Bernardino Tovar was first questioned by the Inquisition and was incarcerated the following September.[17] Within two years <u>procesos</u> were begun against Juan de Vergara (1530), Miguel de Eguia (1530), Mateo Pascual (ca. 1530) and Juan and Alfonso de Valdés (1530-1).

The inquisitors had learned well the lesson of 1527. Instead of making a frontal attack on the Erasmists because of their sympathies for the Dutch humanist they approached the problem indirectly by accusing the Erasmists of Lutheranism and iluminism before bringing in the question of their sympathies for Erasmus. In 1531 Eguia was jailed;[18] by 1533

---

[17] The result of the Tovar <u>proceso</u> is not known as it is lost: Bataillon, <u>Érasme</u>, p. 514.

[18] Above, p. 30.

Vergara, Tovar, Juan del Castillo[19] and Mateo Pascual[20] suffered the same fate and Luis Vives was writing Erasmus that things were so bad in Spain that one could neither think nor remain silent without getting into trouble.[21]

The case against Juan de Vergara is an eloquent commentary on the fate of Erasmism at the hands of the Spanish Inquisition. A man of considerable culture and learning, he had worked on the Polyglot Bible and translated several of the treatises of Aristotle. As secretary to Ximénez and later to Fonseca he was an influential figure in humanist circles and had been a staunch partisan of Erasmus at Valladolid in 1527.

Vergara's influence and high position made it difficult for the Inquisition to attack him. However, the opportunity came in 1530. Vergara had incurred the enmity of the iluminist Francisca Hernández whose activated charms had ensnared Bernardino Tovar, Vergara's half brother. Vergara rescued Tovar from the clutches of Francisca and the latter took her revenge by denouncing Vergara in 1530, accusing him of being a disciple of Luther. The Inquisition immediately began a proceso against Vergara and in 1533 he was jailed despite the efforts made by Fonseca to have him freed.[22]

---

[19]Bataillon, Érasme, pp. 518-9: Castillo was arrested in Bologna where he was teaching Greek and taken back to Spain for trial. Tortured by the Inquisition he tried unsuccessfully to commit suicide.

[20]Above, p. 42 .

[21]Vives, Obras completas, II, p. 1717: "Los tiempos son difíciles y no podemos hablar ni podemos callar sin peligro."

[22]Ltr. of Fonseca June 25, 1533 following fol. 227 of the Vergara proceso. Enzinas, Memoires, II, p. 156, mistakenly asserts that Vergara was freed as a result of the efforts in his behalf by Fonseca.

July 12, 1533 the fiscal listed the charges against Vergara[23] in such a way that Lutheranism, iluminism and Erasmism were all associated with each other as virtually the same kinds of heresy. Vergara was first charged with favoring the opinions of Luther: "he held and approved and greatly favored as very good the opinions and errors of Luther." Then followed the accusation of his iluminist leanings with the comment that the two heresies practically coincide: "the errors of those who are called alumbrados which almost coincide with the said Lutheran errors." The heretical trinity was completed with the damnation of the real enemy by the simple technique of association when Vergara was then accused of being too friendly toward Erasmus and of having defended the errors of Erasmus when the latter had been condemned and reproved.

This is a rather obvious and yet effective technique. Even in our own day we find that Beltrán de Heredia, although willing to admit differences among iluminism, Erasmism and Lutheranism nevertheless insists on condemning Erasmism on the ground that it provided the seed from which Lutheranism developed:

> Iluminism, Erasmism and Lutheranism were three clearly distinct entities, and nevertheless . . . the transition to the third position or to one similar to it was accomplished with complete naturalness as a goal in an evolution logically implied in the free Christianity of Erasmus, as expressed by a phrase which began to circulate from the start: Erasmus laid the egg which was later hatched by Luther.[24]

---

[23] Vergara proceso, fols. 134r ff.

[24] Beltrán de Heredia, "Erasmo y España", p. 572.

Such a conclusion is highly debatable. One might as well blame Saint Paul or Saint Augustine for Lutheranism for did not these two church figures inspire Luther even more than did Erasmus, whom he detested? One wonders to what conclusion Beltrán's dialectics would lead him when faced with the problem of the Devotio Moderna movement from which both Luther and Loyola drew much of their inspiration.[25] Would he condemn the Brethren of the Common Life for their influence on Luther or would he praise them for their contributions to the thought of Loyola? Would they then be the ones who had laid the egg which hatched the ugly duckling of Wittenberg or would they get the credit for being the praiseworthy progenitors of the peacock hatched at Pamplona? Indeed is not Luther as close in his thinking to medieval Augustinianism, and in particular to the Occamites, as he is to Erasmus?[26] Bonet, for example, thinks he is much closer:

> Having to choose between Erasmus and the medieval Sophists (the Scholastics) Luther prefers the latter; since although they admit the existence of the free will, in reality they deny its content by saying that, without the aid of grace, man cannot incline himself toward good by his own efforts.[27]

---

[25] See Albert Hyma, The Christian Renaissance: a History of the "Devotio Moderna", Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1924.

[26] Cf. Julio Cejador y Frauca, Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana (época de Carlos V), Madrid, 1915. Cejador, whose Jesuit training attests his orthodoxy, looks on Erasmism as a perfect expression of the Spanish ideal! See p. 7 and p. 83 where, speaking of Erasmus and Alfonso de Valdés, in disagreement with Menéndez y Pelayo, he leaves no doubt that so far as he is concerned, both Valdés and Erasmus are orthodox.

[27] Alberto Bonet, La filosofía de la libertad en las controversias teológicas del siglo XVI y primera mitad del XVII, Barcelona, 1932, p. 89.

Vergara's comments on this whole matter of loose interpretation of heresy leave no doubt about his attitude. It wasn't enough, he said, for an inquisitor to be a good man, he shouldn't be a fool either.[28] Later he commented on the unhappy nature of things when theology has reached such a state that one cannot quote the opinions of saints and Church officals (such as the Pope) without being dragged before the Inquisition on charges of heresy.[29]

By 1535 the Inquisition was bold enough to challenge the Emperor himself. When Alonso de Virués, the favorite preacher of Charles V, was put in jail on charges of heresy[30] the Emperor wrote Inquisitor general Manrique two letters with orders that Virués' case be expedited immediately. Charles' letters and the representations of Manrique were ignored and Virués remained in jail three more years.[31] Charged with holding Erasmian opinions Virués pleaded in vain the orthodoxy of

---

[28]Vergara proceso, fol. 183r: Nov. 4, 1533 Gaspar Martínez, in charge of prisoners, testified: "el dho doctor dixo no le basta a un juez ser buen hombre syno que no sea nescio, y pasaron otras muchas palabras feas quel dho doctor Vergara dixo."

[29]"Y es mucho de doler que las materias theologicas vengan a tal estado que las mas sanas opiniones de sanctos y Catholicos Doctores se infamen e se traigan a Inqsicion [sic] desta man[er]a. Vease Altissiodorense, Santo Thomas, St Bonaventura, Gerson e otros: e para mas corto, veanse las Questiones de Indulgentiis del papa Adriano, LIV, que los allega a todos y veran que en dezirlo no ay herejia ni error ninguno" (Vergara to Inquisition March 6, 1534, ibid., fol. 263r-v).

[30]See Bataillon, Érasme, pp. 519-20 for this case. Bataillon says he was in jail by January 1535. Lea, III, p. 418, puts the date at 1533.

[31]This was not the first time the Inquisition had defied the crown. In 1530 two letters of the Empress and the interposition of Clement VII in favor of Francisco Ortiz were ignored by the tribunal at Toledo (Lea, I, p. 305).

Erasmus. He was declared suspect of Lutheranism and found guilty in 1538. Charles, who had followed the case closely, had to resort to Rome for a papal brief which annulled the sentence of the Inquisition.

By 1538 Erasmism in Spain was on its way to extinction. Alonso Fonseca died in 1534 and Erasmus followed him two years later. In 1537, after being forced to make public recantation of his Erasmist opinions, the aged Pedro de Lerma departed for France because he felt it was no longer possible for learned persons to remain in Spain.[32] By 1538, when the death of Manrique removed the last Erasmist from a high church position in Spain, most of the leading Erasmists had been largely discredited by the Inquisition's technique of association of their beliefs with Lutheranism. Many of them had landed in jail; a fortunate few like Juan de Valdés had made good their escape to more friendly lands.

---

[32] Above, p. 41.

X

THE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA

Since it was the Doctrina Christiana which led to Valdés' flight from the Spanish Inquisition, a brief consideration of this work will provide some commentary on the narrowing concept of orthodoxy which brought the Inquisition into the field against Spain's Erasmists in the 1530's and after.

A brief perusal of the Doctrina Christiana indicates clearly Valdés' debt to Erasmus and especially to the Colloquies, on which he draws heavily for much of his material. Anyone acquainted with Valdés' later Italian writings and in particular with his Alfabeto Cristiano and his Ciento y diez consideraciones, will recognize in the Doctrina Christiana the germs of many ideas later developed more fully during Valdés' Italian career. One will find also in the Doctrina Christiana resemblances to iluminism in Valdés' emphasis on inner virtue and the spiritual life rather than on formalism and outward manifestations of piety as sure signs of true Christianity.[1]

The purpose of the present chapter is not, however, to study the Doctrina Christiana in terms of its debt to others nor as a phase of

---

[1] Bataillon, Érasme, pp. 390-1; "Ce Diálogo était le premier essai d'un des plus authentiques génies religieux du siècle. Mais c'était aussi le mouvement d'Alcala, c'était tout l'illuminisme érasmisant qui s'y exprimait."

the religious development of Juan de Valdés;[2] rather it is merely to present the book as an example of the type of thinking which obviously did not square with the concept of true Christianity as determined by the Spanish Inquisition. Let the reader judge as he wishes the merits of Valdés' attitude; the point to be made here is simply that ideas such as those in the Doctrina Christiana could not be expressed with impunity in Spain by 1530.

The present writer makes no attempt to decide on the question of the orthodoxy of the Doctrina Christiana nor on the larger issue of whether or not Valdés himself died a heretic.[3] Valdés certainly does not reject the principles of obedience to Rome, observance of the

---

[2]Indeed this has already been done by Bataillon in Juan de Valdés, where Valdés' Erasmian sources are compared with the Doctrina Christiana and his later works are cited to show points of similarity to the present work.

[3]On this issue the "authorities" cannot agree. When Boehmer, after years of study, decided that Valdés' originality defied classification, Menéndez y Pelayo (Heterodoxos, III, p. 249) chided him mildly for his indecision and positively asserted that Valdés was a Lutheran, a unitarian and an iluminist. Among others who look on Valdés as a heretic are Serrano, "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz", p. 130; C. A. Wilkens, Spanish Protestants in the Sixteenth Century, London, 1897, p. 67; Adolfo de Castro y Rossi, Historia de los Protestantes españoles y de su persecución por Felipe II, Cadiz, 1851, p. 100; Delio Cantimori, Eretici italiani del cinquencento. Ricerche storiche, Florence, 1939, pp. 45-9. Bataillon, (Érasme, pp, 548-9 and Juan de Valdés, pp. 117-123) is equally certain that Valdés is not a heretic. He is supported in this view by Amy Bonet-Maury, Early Sources of English Unitarian Christianity, London, 1884, pp. 83, 142, and Frederic C. Church, The Italian Reformers 1534-1564, New York, 1932, pp. 50-1. Others, not able to take a positive stand on either side, place Valdés in a gray zone between white orthodoxy and black heresy. See for example: George K. Brown, Italy and the Reformation to 1550, Oxford, 1933, pp. 87, 233, 235; J. Heep, Juan de Valdés, seine Religion - sein Werden - seine Bedeuting, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 193-4; Croce, Giovanni di Valdés, p. xix, n. 1; Carrasco, Alfonso et Juan de Valdés, p. 3; Montesinos, Dial. leng., pp. xxxii-xxxiv. A good summary of the confusion on the question of Valdés' orthodoxy can be found in Antero Meozzi, "Studi su Juan Valdés", in La Rassegna XLVII (1939), pp. 200-15.

sacraments, the doctrine of the Trinity,[4] belief in the seven sins and virtues and the five commandments of the Church. Although he emphasizes the necessity of faith he does not reject the doctrine of good works[5] and on no major point of Catholic doctrine does he appear to be at variance with the official Church position. A trained theologian might see in his criticisms of ceremony, monks and formalism in general some ground for condemnation. At least the Spanish Inquisition saw reason for condemnation although on what grounds we do not know. The present writer ventures, not without trepidation, to suggest that the Spanish Inquisition was, on occasion, a little too enthusiastic in its search for heresy and might have made some mistakes on this score; in regard to Valdés one is further tempted to suggest that if Valdés was a heretic, so was Erasmus upon whom he drew so heavily in the Doctrina Christiana. In fact, had Erasmus been in Spain instead of northern Europe, it seems almost certain that he would received the same treatment as did many of his Spanish followers.

Except for a few minor differences, Valdés follows Erasmus very

---

[4]One of the most common charges made against Valdés by those who consider him a heretic is that he denied the doctrine of the Trinity. In the Doctrina Christiana (fols. 14v-15r) his position on this score appears orthodox: "Lo que os puedo dezir es que conuiene que todos creamos: quel espiritu santo es verdadero dios/ jutamente co el padre/ e coel hijo: e que de tal manera son tres personas: que esvna mesma essencia: quiero dezir vn mesmo ser . . . la tercera persona llamase spiritu/ porque e ella se atribuye que inspira: e inuisiblemente traspassa por nuestros animos: assi como los ayres traspassa por la tierra/ o por el agua."

[5]He merely says that for a work to be good the intention behind it must also be good: "para q la obra sea buena es menester que la intencio sea buena e discreta" (ibid., fol. 24v).

closely in the Doctrina Christiana. Writing for a less educated public, Valdés rejects Latin for Spanish and on some theological points he goes into more detailed explanations in an apparent effort to make them understandable to the untutored. At the same time several items in his work point to an awareness by Valdés of the increasing sensitivity of the Inquisition and the dangers inherent in unguarded criticism of current Church practice. For one who gleefully exchanged scandalous stories about monks Valdés exhibits some restraint in his criticism of formalism and ceremony in Chruch practice and in this respect is more cautious than was Erasmus. In his choice of the deceased Pedro de Alva, Archbishop of Granada, as the expositor of Christian doctrine he seems to be trying to lend an aura of sanctity to his ideas by representing them as the ideas of a respected Church official, while he himself speaks through the mouth of a monk. As if these precautions were not enough, he took dubious refuge in anonymity stating that the work was written by a "religioso" and dedicated it to his old patron the Marqués de Villena, faithful and honored servant of the Catholic kings.[6]

The three characters of the dialogue are the Archbishop of Granada, Eusebio and Antronio. The Archbishop Pedro de Alva expounds Christian doctrine to his two listeners. Valdés identifies himself as the monk Eusebio whose name he apparently took from Erasmus' colloquies Colloquim senile and Convivium religiosum. Antronio, the ignorant but

---

[6]The old Marqués was still an influential figure among Spain's nobility despite the Alcaraz affair. In 1528 he and the Emperor were corresponding on the subject of Charles' relations with Francis I (see ltrs. of June 18, 1528 and Oct. 10, 1528 in Colección doc. inéd., I, pp. 65-7).

likable parish priest, is obviously a copy of the worldly, ignorant abbot Antronius in the Abbatis et eruditae, who disapproved of his monks doing any heavy reading because it tended to make them disputatious and because he didn't want any of his monks to know more than he did.[7]

In his dedication to the Marqués de Villena the author (the monk Eusebio) explains that during the course of his travels he happened to visit a local church where the priest (Antronio) was explaining to some children the fundamentals of Christian doctrine. He soon realized that the priest was an idiot ("ydiota") and very poorly trained. After the sermon the priest asked Eusebio's opinion of his talk. Realizing that the priest was a pleasant fellow with good intentions Eusebio stifled a cutting retort and suggested that they pay a visit to Pedro de Alva, Archbishop of Granada and ask the learned friar to discuss Christian doctrine with them.

The dialogue opens with Eusebio and Antronio seated in the garden of a monastery, presumably in Granada, imbibing the wisdom of Pedro de Alva. The learned archbishop discusses in order the Apostles' Creed, the ten commandments, the seven sins, the seven virtues, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the five commandments of the Church and the Pater Noster. The work concludes with a brief compendium of Holy

---

[7] Abbatis et eruditae, in Erasmus, Colloquia, ed. C. Schrevelio, Rotterdam, 1664, p. 326: "Antronius: Ego nolim meos monachos frequentes esse in libris. Magdalia: At meus maritus hoc maxime probat. Sed quam ob rem tandem non probas hoc in monachis tuis? An: Quoniam experior illos minus morigeros: responsant ex Decretis, ex Decretalibus, ex Petro et Paulo. Ma: Imperas igitur quae pugnant cum Petro et Paulo? An: Quid illi doceant, nescio: sed tamen non amo monachum responsatorem: neque velim quenquam meorum plus sapere, quam ego sapiam."

Scripture and a Spanish translation from the Greek of chapters five, six and seven of Saint Matthew. Eusebio's function throughout the discussion is primarily that of interlocutor while Antronio, who frequently interrupts with expressions of amazement at his own ignorance, reflects the clerical ignorance of which Valdés obviously disapproves.

True Christianity

As expressed by Pedro de Alva, Valdés' concept of true Christianity emphasizes faith and inner virtue. The dialogue opens with a discussion by the archbishop of the real meaning of Christianity. Christ-like living, he says, is a prime essential; a true Christian, after his baptism, will base his life on the inner virtues of faith and charity and will live purely and sincerely as did Christ. Anyone who does not live according to these principles cannot be a Christian, no matter how strictly he observes Church ceremonies. From their early days children should be taught to believe in Christ, to follow His doctrine and to imitate His life because such is the end to which every Christian should devote himself.[8]

In his discussion of the three theological virtues Valdés discusses extensively the question of faith.[9] Real faith in God implies

---

[8] Doctrina Christiana, fols. 4r-7v.

[9] See Bataillon, Juan de Valdés, pp. 252-3. Valdés affirms the unity of the three theological virtues, on which point he is at one with Luther. This doctrine of the indissoluble unity of the three virtues, which was rejected at the Council of Trent, was very widespread before that time. Cano accused Carranza of sharing this opinion with the Lutherans and with Erasmus as well, for which the University of Paris condemned Erasmus as a heretic.

complete trust and belief in Him and brings charity with it as a natural consequence. Anyone who believes in God must believe all that is written by God in Holy Scripture. He must have complete confidence in Him, in His ultimate purpose and in His promises, even though everything may appear to be beyond human reason, in which case reason must be subjugated to faith.[10]

At this point Eusebio objects that the archbishop is confusing faith with hope, to which the latter replies with a picturesque story to illustrate the difference between the two. Imagine, he says, a man with head and feet of wax standing atop a fiery mountain. A stranger offers to lead him through the fire to a wondrous place on the other side. All that is necessary is that the man with the wax extremities trust in his guide and never stray from him during the course of the journey. Then our man, despite the seeming impossibility of the crossing, takes the hand of the stranger and steps into the fire. Although the road twists and turns and our friend falls down he never loses faith in his guide and never lets go his hand, with the result that he is soon safely across the fiery pit and happily ensconced in the wonderful place on the other side.

Such is faith says the archbishop. Now suppose that this same man had great hope that his guide could lead him through the fire. Despite his hope, if he did not have complete faith he would draw away from his guide and refuse to be led to the promised land, despite his

---

[10] Doctrina Christiana, fols. 52v-53v.

longing to go there. Clearly faith is essential and is quite different from hope.[11]

Love of God and obedience to His law are also essential. Without charity, which is simply love of God and of one's neighbor, one cannot claim to be a Christian,[12] and the principle exercise of all Christians should be in the laws of God contained in Holy Scripture, because it is only in Scripture where the will of God is declared. Of all the many writings which exist in the world, only in Scripture are we obliged to believe everything told to us, with no exceptions.[13]

Christian belief is a matter of inner knowledge; it is better to have these things fixed in your mind and heart than merely set down in books, the archbishop admonishes Antronio.[14] Nor can one tolerate the halfway measures of those professed Christians who, with impure hearts, try to bargain with God. I know some people, warns the archbishop, who, presuming to be very saintly and wise, sometimes omit from the Pater Noster the phrase: "forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us." They admit that they do this when they are at odds with someone and don't want to forgive him. Did you ever hear of anything so stupid? They aren't afraid to call God "Father" when they are really the children of Satan. And they ask for the grace of God which is given only to the pure in heart.[15]

---

[11] Ibid., fol. 54r.
[12] Ibid., fol. 54v.
[13] Ibid., fol. 86r.
[14] Ibid., fol. 18v.
[15] Ibid., fol. 80r-v.

The Spiritual Man

Valdés' emphasis on the inner life as the prime characteristic of the true Christian is further developed in his concept of what he calls the "spiritual man." A spiritual man, says the archbishop, is one who has the special grace of God, without which he can accomplish nothing good. That is why Saint Paul says[16] that only the spiritual man can fulfill God's law,[17] and unless he has the spiritual riches of the Holy Ghost he cannot hope to be master of his own flesh.[18] To Antronio's query if he means by a spiritual man a friar or cleric the archbishop replies that a spiritual man is one who places all his life in God and enjoys the grace of the Holy Ghost and that neither a friar nor a cleric has any special monopoly on this state.[19]

A spiritual man will scorn externals and bodily comfort as inferior things. Sensuality must be subjugated to reason and the body to the spirit; such is the behavior of the spirit which approaches God and which hates the pleasures of the flesh.[20] Therefore, the archbishop tells Antronio, if you want to be a real Christian you must purge yourself of all desire for worldly honors because these desires clip the wings of the spirit which wants to fly to heaven. This you can do easily if, just as the worldly turn their backs to God, you will turn

---

[16] Romans, VII. See esp. verse 14: "For we know that the law is spiritual, but I am carnal, sold under sin."

[17] Doctrina Christiana, fol. 36r.

[18] Ibid., fol. 60r.

[19] Ibid., fol. 33r-v.

[20] Ibid., fol. 67v.

your back to the world and think of nothing but serving and pleasing God.[21]

Although he places heavy emphasis on the spiritual man's scorn for externals, Valdés does not reject the observance of Church ceremony. A Christian must observe the laws and ceremonies of the Church, although these things are merely "accessory."[22] It is preferable that the Christian know what he must do for God than for the Church since he is obliged to serve God for the Church and not the Church for God.[23] Unfortunately, many people profess to be good Christians simply because they observe all kinds of ceremonies and devotions of their own invention. Even more disturbing is their attitude toward those real Christians who live according to the laws of God. Because the latter do not partake of their cold and vain devotions they are stigmatized as unchristian. This is enough to make one weep, says the archbishop, and is without doubt the justice of the Pharisees who emphasize exterior works and hold little regard for the interior works of others.[24]

This emphasis on externals is worthless when not motivated by inner love of God and His law. He who complies externally with the commandments of God must also comply with the intention behimd them.[25] To place one's love and confidence in outward forms is an affront to God

---

[21] Ibid., fol. 99r.
[22] Ibid., fol. 5r-v.
[23] Ibid., fol. 60v.
[24] Ibid., fol. 41r-v.
[25] Ibid., fol. 26v.

against which he inveighs in Scripture,[26] and it also violates the first commandment by substituting worship of worldly things for worship of God.[27] Indeed, he who sins with his heart cannot be justified either by his words or his works.[28]

Confession

Valdés' attitude on confession reflects that of Erasmus in his colloquy Pietas Puerilis.[29] As noted previously,[30] Diego de Uceda, who was in the Inquisition jails at the time Valdés published his book, had been charged with sharing the same opinions and his attempt to justify his position by citing Erasmus as his authority only made matters worse. In this instance it seems appropriate therefore, to reproduce Valdés' words on the subject as he discusses it in the Doctrina Christina.[31]

> Archbishop: The second commandment is that we confess once a year during Lent. I could tell you a lot of things about confession because I have studied the matter with considerable curiosity, but maybe some other time we can discuss it at greater length. At present we will merely discuss the essentials so that our friend the priest [Antronio] can instruct his charges properly.

---

[26] See especially Matthew, XV, passim.

[27] Doctrina Christiana, fol 20r-v. Such practice also violates the fifth commandment: see fol. 32r in which the archbishop refers to love of honors, riches, favors, etc., as a vile form of adultery.

[28] Ibid., fol. 23r-v.

[29] In Erasmus, Colloquia, pp. 53-66. See especially pp. 61ff.

[30] Above, pp. 100-1.

[31] Fols. 63r-65v.

First you should tell them that confession was given as a remedy for sin. I mean so that if we should knowingly sin after baptism, we can win God's pardon by confessing our sin. Next you will tell them how wonderful it is never to have need to confess in all their lives.

Antronio: What? You think that is good?

Arch: Even better than good.

Antron: How so?

Arch: Because if it is good for them not to sin, then it's also good for them never to have need for confession.

Antron: That's impossible.

Arch: Don't talk like that -- you are very much mistaken. With God's grace doesn't it seem possible?

Antron: Yes, but . . .

Arch: Say no more. Since it is possible with God's grace, and it is possible to achieve God's grace, then it is possible not to commit a deadly sin; and if one does not commit a mortal sin there will be no need to confess.

Antron: Granted; but don't you see that if one never confessed he would be violating the Church's commandment?

Arch: You misunderstood me. What I said was that one should never have need for confession. It's understood that it is good to confess even without sin when the Church commands it, for many reasons which we don't have time to discuss.

Antron: I'm satisfied with your reasons but please tell me why it is that those whom we consider to be the best and most saintly Christians go to confession more than anybody else.

Arch: I wish to heaven I knew. If I did I'd be glad to tell you.

Antron: Well I still wish you would give me your opinion on it.

Arch: All I can say is I would never want to do anything which would require confession nor of which my conscience would accuse me, and thus I wouldn't have to confess more than once a year only to comply with the commandment of the Church. As for the activities of those whom you call the best Christians I don't think I can judge the matter. I certainly think that if those of whom you speak knew what one should know about confession and knew what the Christian is obliged to confess and what he is not obliged to confess, that if they were such good Christians as you say they are, they wouldn't confess so often. Unless, of course, they think there is something holy about confessing all the time, in which case I have no comment to make.

Antron: Well tell us, just what is it we should confess?

Arch: That's a big order you're giving me, but I'll tell you in a few words. We should confess only in those instances when our consciences accuse us and when we offend God either through ignorance, weakness, or malice.

Eusebio: Your opinion on this question has given me greater satisfaction than you might think. Many times I go to confession and so I'll have something to say I admit to many things of which my conscience doesn't accuse me at all, and I know that the same is true with many of those who go to confession with me. The truth is that, although it isn't bad to do this it isn't good either; as a matter of fact it is probably more harmful than it is good.

Antron: Well since you're confessing I might as well do the same. I swear by my holy orders that I never go to confession because my conscience is accusing me. I confess only because it's a good custom and I'm supposed to abide by it, and I always thought that anyone who didn't do the same was lost. And I'm sure that most clerics do the same thing. Those who hear our confessions must know that very well, because year in and year out we confess the same sins — the same ones today as yesterday.

Arch: Let's have no more of these confessions. I could tell you a few stories of my own about how when I was a boy my friends used to tell me about all the things their confessors did with them. To tell you the truth, I don't

know
/ why they do it or what they get out of confession. Nor do I know whether they think confessions was instituted as a remedy for the spirits of the faithful or for their own rascally devices. But it's better not to talk about this since it doesn't get us anywhere.

As I said before, you should instruct your charges that if they should fall into some sin for which they need God's pardon that they should resort to the remedy of confession. And in this matter they should exercise great discretion, and not try to confess to more than the sins of which their consciences accuse them. And they should do this briefly, without a lot of hot air. You should tell them also that the only thing that should make them go to confession is sorrow for the offense which they have committed against God. This is my advice for those who are going to confess.

In addition to this the confessors themselves should be careful not to teach sin to those who confess to them. I say this because most of them have the habit of asking, during confession, questions which it would be better not to ask. In my case stupid confessors taught me a lot of ways to sin that I had known nothing about. Having heard the confession of the penitent, the confessor's duty is merely to absolve him, to admonish him and to encourage him in such a way that henceforth he will avoid offending God, so that the penitent will believe that God has pardoned his sins through the medium of confession and absolution by the priest.

If the whole thing is handled this way the penitent will be able to set his conscience at rest and the little childish pecadillos can be overlooked as not being necessary for confession. The penitence which the sinner should be made to perform should be to read in some book where he can find good doctrine and the proper remedy for the sin to which he is most inclined, because in this way he can best avoid such sin.

Tithes and First Fruits

On the Church custom of taxation for the support of the priesthood Valdés uses some of the strongest language in the dialogue. It has

already been noted[32] how María de Cazalla thought Valdés had gone a little too far in his attacks on this custom, as well as on confession, and it is very likely that this passage played an important part in the proceso against Valdés. Accordingly it is quoted here from the Doctrina Christiana.[33]

> Antronio: What is your opinion on the fifth commandment of the Church, which requires the payment of tithes and first fruits?
>
> Archbishop: . . . I wish to heaven that we would exercise as much care and diligence in instructing the people about Christian doctrine as we do in seeing to it that they pay tithes and first fruits. If we did that I promise you we would all be saints.
>
> Antron: Well don't you think that we clerics ought to collect our rents?
>
> Arch: I'm not saying that we shouldn't collect our rents, but I am saying that we should use them as we are obliged to and not as we actually do, and that since we are given these rents so that we might teach Christian doctrine in return we should do just that. I know that Saint Paul was a much better Christian than any of us and had a much better right to ask for all kinds of tithes. But you know that he was so modest that because he didn't want to bother anyone and because he didn't think he should preach the doctrine of Jesus for money, he worked day and night to earn his own living with his own hands. He frequently praises this practice in Scripture and warns us to be on guard against those who want to live at someone else's expense.[34]
>
> I say therefore that it isn't bad for us to collect our rents, but it is only right and fair that those from whom we collect the rents get Christian doctrine

---

[32] Above, p, 65.

[33] Fols. 68v-71r.

[34] See for example Acts, XX, 33, 35; I Cor., IV, 12: I Thess., II, 9; II Thess., III, 8.

from us in return. And if they don't get this doctrine from us we don't deserve the rents given us. Not only are we obliged to give them doctrine for their rents, but we also are obliged to spend those rents on those things for which the Church wishes us to spend them. I really don't know how we ecclesiastics can have the nerve to spend the rents, given to us for helping the poor, on profane and worldly things.

Antron: Well I won't have to worry about explaining to God on that account.

Arch: How so?

Antron: Because I don't do like those people you're talking about. I don't spend my rents on games and foolish things or anything like that.

Arch: Well just how do you spend your rents?

Antron: In keeping up as best I can my honor and that of my relatives as befitting a person who has the rental and dignity which I hold.

Arch: And you're satisfied with that?

Antron: Completely. Why shouldn't I be?

Arch: Because the rents aren't given to you for you to spend them that way, but for you to keep up the honor of God and of His church. You have no call to be satisfied with what you do.

Antron: How does one keep up the honor of God?

Arch: By complying with God's will in everything, because the only way to honor Him is for His creatures to comply with His will. This is the principle which you and I and everybody else should respect and in accordance with which we should spend everything we have.

Antron: That's fine, but how does one keep up the honor of the Church?

Arch: By obeying it always and in all things. So as the Church orders us to spend our rents on the poor and needy we do it and thus maintain the honor of the Church. Don't you think that both God and His church would be honored if among Christians there were so

much love and charity that the well-fixed would not let the poor suffer?

Antron: Certainly. But I don't see why God should be annoyed if I spend my rent the way I do.

Arch: Well, you just don't get it. Now look here: if you were to send a servant of yours to the fair at Medina del Campo and you give him a hundred thousand maravedis with instructions to spend what he needs for himself and to buy you certain things which you need, wouldn't you expect him to do as you told him?

Antron: I certainly would.

Arch: And if he didn't do what you wanted but spent the money on whatever he pleased, what would you do?

Antron: Why I'd make him pay back my money and I'd punish him as I saw fit.

Arch: Very well answered, and very much to the point; and now tell me, didn't God send you to this worldly fair? . . . And didn't He give you a hundred thousand maravedis or more in rent for you to spend in accordance with His will? . . . And if you, instead of spending your rent on what God wants, spent it in keeping up your honor and the honor of your relatives, don't you imagine that God will, with good reason, punish you the same way you said you would punish your servant?

Antron: Yes, it would seem so, but since God gives me permission to take for myself what I need, and since I consider my honor and that of my relatives to be very important, it's legitimate for me to spend my allowance on that.

Arch: Let's see now, just what do you mean by your honor?

Antron: To live in the same style as do others who have the same rent and position as I have.

Arch: Look, friend priest, you're very wrong about this. It's alright for you to take enough from your rent to administer to your needs. This must be done very moderately, however, without regard to the position and the rent which you hold, since the honor of the position consists in your doing your duty and not in your having good mules and many servants. In the

> same way the honor of the Christian ought to consist in not doing anything ugly in the eyes of God or men, rather than in putting up a good front. This honor which you say you uphold is the road to Hell because it is allied with avarice and ambition.

Ceremonies and Formalism

Church ceremonies and formalism come in for sharp reproofs throughout Valdés' dialogue. It makes me sick to my stomach,[35] says the archbishop, when I see how the common people, as well as many corrupt persons within the Church, attach the greatest importance to ceremonies alone. Indeed, the whole purpose of my talk has been to show you how one may be a real Christian and not a pretended one, an evangelical Christian and not a ceremony hound, spiritual and not superstitious, a Christian whose belief is manifested by sincerity of spirit and not by outward appearances.[36]

In our observance of holy days, for example, Christian practice has reached such a low state that instead of devoting ourselves to God on those days we actually deliver ourselves to Satan. While the authorities will fine a poor worker for sowing turnips on a holy day, they completely overlook the many persons who spend such days playing cards, consorting with women, lying, murmuring and otherwise engaging in scandalous activities.[37]

The attitude of many Christians at Mass also draws the ire of

---

[35] Doctrina Christiana, fol. 5v: "se me rõpẽ las entrañas."
[36] Ibid., fol. 49r.
[37] Ibid., fols. 25v-27v.

the archbishop, and he lashes out at those who think their mere physical presence is all that is necessary for compliance with the Church commandment to attend Mass. Too many people chatter during Mass and never hear what's going on. As bad as these are others who read their prayer books and recite psalms and Pater Nosters in the belief that the more they recite the more saintly they are and the greater is their service to God. If you should ask these people about what was said during Mass they wouldn't know any more about it than if they had been off somewhere in the Indies while the Mass was being said. They might just as well stay home for all the good they get from the services.[38]

The worthy custom of abstinence has been so corrupted by superstitious persons that its original purpose has been completely lost. The early Church fathers didn't care whether they ate meat or fish; they stressed temperance and ate merely to stay alive. Unfortunately, many of our present day Christians think that so long as they don't eat meat they can eat other things until they burst. This emphasis on the physical aspects of abstinence is misdirected, for the most important thing for a Christian is to abstain from sin. Children certainly should not be obliged to abstain from food, as it isn't good for their health. Besides, they might get the idea that fasting is a sign of true Christianity and instead of becoming pious and holy they will merely be superstitious and vicious.[39]

---

[38] Ibid., fol. 61r-v.

[39] Ibid., fols. 67r-68r.

Valdés delivers himself of a long peroration on the excesses of the cult of the Virgin. I know many people, says the archbishop, who pose as devotees of the Virgin because they say all kinds of prayers to Her and because they have a large stock of stories about the wonders She has performed. This sort of thing is a mockery and an abomination; those who are truly devoted to the Virgin show their love by trying to imitate Her humility, charity and chastity, rather than by praying to Her and saying masses and fasting in Her name.

An instance of false worship of the Virgin can be found in a book of miracles of Our Lady, which Antronio mentions to the archbishop. A book such as this, insists the latter, should not be allowed among Christians. Saint Paul says that neither the avaricious nor the luxury lovers shall enter heaven;[40] yet this little book of miracles tells of many persons guilty of such sins who went to heaven simply because they prayed to the Virgin every day. Did you ever hear of a more profitable kind of devotion? he inquires sarcastically.

All this emphasis on fasting and prayer is "accessory",[41] as it is not required by God, Who hears only the fervent spirit and not the noise or the quantity of the words addressed to Him. I don't mean, says the archbishop, that one shouldn't recite prayers, but I do say that it isn't necessary to do so in order to be a real Christian. I

---

[40] Ephesians, V, 5: "For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God."

[41] Doctrina Christiana, fol. 74r: "es todo accessorio"; cf. fol. 5r-v: "estotro es accessorio."

know many people who act like saints in church; once outside the church, however, their agile tongues turn from a recitation of Pater Nosters and psalms to gossip, lying and other foul things of the same type. When I see this sort of thing going on I can only console myself with the knowledge that there is a life of eternal happiness for the good and an endless, unhappy death for the evil.[42] I prefer that children be grounded not in prayer books but in Holy Scripture, which will teach them real Christianity instead of the false, ceremonious Christianity of vain and worldly persons.[43]

Clerical Ignorance

Valdés' dislike of current clerical practices, so evident in his letters to Gracián de Alderete, also appears in the Doctrina Christiana. While the archbishop expounds the doctrines of Christianity, Antronio exclaims that it is all new to him as he had never been taught such principles.[44] Also, Antronio's education has been badly neglected. He knows no Latin[45] and is a pronounced enemy of philosophy and letters,

---

[42] Ibid., fols. 74r-75r.

[43] Ibid., fol. 85v.

[44] Ibid., fol. 8r: "Por las ordenes q̃ rescebi/ nunca jamas oy lo q̃ vos agora me dezis;" fol. 18v: "Quanto que a mi pareceme cosa dentre sueños oyr lo que oygo: porque de todo ello no sabia mas q̃ vna tabla"; fol. 32v: "hasta agora no auia sabido/ q̃ cosa es christiandad."

[45] Ibid., fol. 18v: "yo no entiendo essos latines"; fol. 42v: "cõ cõdicio q̃ vos señor me los hagais dar en romance."

although he admittedly knows nothing about these things.[46]

Eusebius opens the attack on clerical ignorance early in the dialogue. While the archbishop is explaining the difference between a Christian and a non-Christian, Eusebio contributes a story about one of his holy brothers who, when asked to explain the difference between a Christian and a Moor, said that the only difference he knew was that Christians don't eat meat during Lent whereas Moors do and that Christians observe the Sabbath and other holy days while Moors do not.[47]

Many priests are guilty of violating the eighth commandment. Among those who bear false witness are those preachers who twist and corrupt Scripture and who preach lies and false miracles for the sole purpose of enhancing their own diabolical interests. These and others like them, who are supposed to dedicate themselves to serving the world, are Christians in name only. Since all their work is for no other purpose than to satisfy their carnal appetities we should pray God to remove them from their evil and vicious ways.[48]

Near the end of the dialogue Valdés turns to the subject of education and training among the clergy and concludes that considerable reform is needed. Antronio admits that he had never liked studies and

---

[46]Ibid., fol. 52r: "soy enemigo dstas filosofias e letras pfanas. Arch: Como padre/ y aueis os dado algũ tpo a estas letras? Antron: No e verdad ni aun qsiera."

[47]Ibid., fol. 5v. This is just the kind of story Valdés might have written to Gracian de Alderete.

[48]Ibid., fols. 33v-34r. Cf. fol. 62v where the archbishop says that children, when they hear a preacher who is a fool, should pray God to send good and Holy workers into His vineyard (the Church).

that although he had picked up a smattering of Latin as a boy he has long since forgotten it. Despite the fact that he knew no Latin and could scarcely read he, like many others, was ordained because he had a good voice for singing the Mass. The horrified archbishop vows that he will personally examine all candidates for ordination under his jurisdiction, not only to see if they can read, but also to assure himself that they are real Christians.

May God will that you live a long time, says Eusebio, so that you can reform this practice and many others so tainted with perdition. We would certainly have a better kind of Christianity if all prelates shared your views. Unfortunately, nowadays we get the worst kind of friars and clerics whose bad habits create confusion in the Church and threaten to destroy everything.[49]

Teaching of Youth

Good training during youth is essential to the formation of good Christians and children should have good saintly teachers to set them a proper example. However, many rich people are more interested in raising good mules than in raising good Christians; while they take great pains in the selection of their mule trainers they don't care what kind of teachers their children have.[50]

The archbishop himself serves as a good example of the results to

---

[49] Ibid., fols. 97r-98r.

[50] Ibid., fols. 6v-7r.

be gained from proper instruction for the young. His father, a learned man who used his studies for his own spiritual edification rather than for monetary gain, took care to instruct the members of his household in Christian doctrine. Prelates as well as parents who fail to do the same for the young people in their charge are both cruel and impious and can hardly claim to be doing their duty as good Christians.

Eusebio concludes the discussion with a bitter commentary on contemporary training of the young. If we had teachers like yours, he says to the archbishop, the spirits of our children wouldn't be so readily corrupted as they are now. And if we had prelates who were really interested in the welfare of their charges, we certainly would have a kind of honesty, virtue and Christianity different from what we have today. Unfortunately our bad priests can teach only evil, our vicious teachers can teach only vice and our ambitious and avaricious prelates can teach only ambition and avarice.[51]

Recommended Reading

Some of the effects of poor teaching can perhaps be offset by good reading. The archbishop lists several works which he considers suitable fare for good Christians, being careful to choose only those works for which there are Spanish translations. In addition to the Enchiridion and some of the colloquies of Erasmus, he suggests: the Imitation of Christ; a collection of liturgical texts and sermons,

---

[51] Ibid., fols. 92v-94v.

together with a paraphrase of the Evangels prepared by a Franciscan friar Ambrosio Montesino; the letters of Saint Jerome; the Morals of Saint Gregory and miscellaneous treatises of Saint Augustine.[52]

As might be expected Valdés considers Erasmus basic to any real understanding of Christianity. Eusebio's pleasure over the archbishop's explanation of the Apostles' Creed serves as the occasion for a defense of Erasmus against his critics among the clergy:[53]

> Eusebio: As God is my witness, this is the best explanation I have ever heard of the Apostles' Creed. Please tell me if you learned this from some book.
>
> Archbishop: I should be very happy to tell you. Have you heard of an excellent doctor, a true theologian, who is called Erasmus of Rotterdam?
>
> Euseb: Yes, I have.
>
> Arch: Have you read any of his works?
>
> Euseb: No, because I have been advised to avoid reading them.
>
> Arch: Well take my advice — those who advised you not to read Erasmus are fools. Read and study his works and you will see what valuable material you will get from them. Besides, you should know that among the books of this Erasmus is a little book of familiar colloquies which he says he wrote so that children might learn Latin and Christianity at the same time. In this book he writes on a good many Christian themes, among which is a treatise[54] on the Creed almost exactly like the one which I have just given you. It's not surprising that I remember it so well as I have read it often, and with great care.

---

[52] Ibid., fol. 96r. For a decription of these works see Bataillon, Juan de Valdés, pp. 279-288.

[53] Doctrina Christiana, fols. 17v-18r.

[54] The Inquisitio de Fide.

Valdés had indeed read Erasmus with great care, but so had Spain's inquisitors. Valdés liked what he had read, but the "fools" did not. Someone had to give way and as events turned out, it was Juan de Valdés. The Spain of 1530 was no longer a safe place for the author of the Doctrina Christiana.

APPENDIX I

PROCESO OF MARÍA DE CAZALLA

---

[1]See above, pp. 58-9, 65.

[2]For Valdés' support of tithes and first fruits see above, pp. 121-5 and below, pp. 165-7 . On confession see above, pp. 121 and below, pp. 160-2.

AHN (Madrid) Inq. de Toledo, Leg. 110, No. 21

María Cazalla to Inquisition[1]
June 7, 1532

33v Preguntada si a loado esta declarante el librillo dela dotrina
34r cristiana que si a loado muchas vezes esta declarante el dho libro de dotrina cristiana avn que le parecia a esta declarante que avia en el algunas cosas que se pudieran dezir mejor y sin escandalo ansi como que lo que dize delos diezmos e primiçias como dela confesion.[2]

Preguntada como lo loava pues que veya que avia algunas cosas que no se dezian por buen estilo dixo que loava lo bueno del dho libro e lo que no estava tan bueno que pasava por ello.

Preguntada sy sabe quien fizo el dho libro de dotrina cristiana dixo que oyo dezir esta declarante que vn Valdes que estava estudiando en Alcala le avie hecho.

Preguntada si se la loo alguna persona a esta declarante la dha obra de dotrina cristiana dixo que no se acuerda e que se acuerda quel dho bachiller Tovar rreprehendia al dho Valdes por que avia publicado el dho libro tan açelaradamente sin mas le corregir e emendar e que esta declarante tiene vn libro de la dha dotrina cristiana e que un dia oyo predicar a fray Pedro de Vitoria dela horden de San Francisco, diziendo mal del dho libro de dotrina cristiana e esta declarante le fizo hechar en vn suelo de vn arca hasta ver que se determinava del dho libro e mando a sus hijas que no leyesen mas en el e que no se acuerda quien le enbio el dho libro sino que se lo enbiaron de Alcala.

---

[1]See above, pp. 58-9, 65.

[2]For Valdés' comment on tithes and first fruits see above, pp. 121-5 and below, pp. 165-7 . On confession see above, pp. 118-121 and below, pp. 160-2.

APPENDIX II

PROCESO OF JUAN DE VERGARA

AHN (Madrid) Inq. de Toledo, Leg. 223, No. 42

Juan de Vergara to Inquisition[1]
June 28, 1533

129r Preguntado que si aviso a otras personas algunas que viniesen en España de los que de aca se avian absentado para los efectos que dicho tiene, dixo que a Juan de Valdes escrivio a Roma este declarante que aca se ponia mal nombre a su absentarse desta tierra por ende que a su honrra convenia que se bolviesse y que ansi se lo encargava y tambien enderego este declarante otra carta suya escripta para el maestro Pascual en el enboltorio del dho Juan de Valdes en que este declarante escrivia al dho maestro Pascual que a la sazon estava en Roma lo mesmo que a Juan de Valdes porque la mesma fama avia de su absencia.

129v Y que el dho Juan de Valdes respondio a este declarante escusandose de su venida con algunas razones y diziendo que ya el maestro Pascual era partido para España y que lo principal que le avia hecho partir tan breuemente avia sido ser avisado de la fama que aca quedaua de la causa de su absencia especialmente en Alcala donde avia rrezias pasiones de colegiales contra el sobre una gran diferencia que alli ovo.

---

[1]See above, p. 73-4.

Alonso Sánchez to Inquisition[2]
February 12, 1532

181r En la villa de Alcala de Enares doze dias de febrero de MDXXXII años ante el señor Inquisidor Joan Yañes.
El doctor Alonso Sanchez canonigo de la Yglesia de Santiuste de Alcala testigo jurado etc. que entre otras cosas que dixo e depuso, depuso lo siguiente.

Yten dixo que al tpo que se disputava entre los doctores theologos desta villa de Alcala para liquidar y examinar un libro de doctrina cristiana que hizo un Valdes estudiante que es natural de Cuenca a lo que dizen el qual estava ynpreso que se yntitula libro de doctrina cristiana hecho por un rreligioso vido este testigo como el doctor Hernan Vazquez hermano de fray Dionisio se hallo presente a ello e que entendiendo en el dicho examen dixo el dho Hernan Vazquez en presencia de todos los theologos que alli estavan que el avia tenido e leydo el dho libro antes que se ynprimiese muchos dias en Toledo y aunque avia hecho quitar otras cosas que tenia mas el dho libro o hecho quitar porque no le parecian bien a lo que este testigo conocio entonces del dho Hernan Vazquez le pesava porque se ynpugnavan las cosas del dho libro y que procurava y trabajava de defender y glosar y escusar todo lo que mas podia del dho libro y que en esto ayudo [?] el doctor Medina canonigo y catredatico [sic] por que los a platicado con este testigo el qual dicho Hernan Vazquez es canonigo de Santiuste y vezino de aqui de Alcala.

Preguntado quien eran los doctores y letrados que vieron y examinaron el dho libro de doctrina cristiana dixo que fueron muchos dias los que se juntaron a examinar el dho libro en esta villa en el collegio en la Camara del maestro Pascual rrector que a la sazon era e que algunas vezes yvan el abbad Pedro de Lerma abbad de Santiuste y el doctor Medina y este testigo y el dho Hernan Vazquez y el dho doctor Balvas y el doctor Francisco de la Fuente y el doctor Diego de la Puente y el doctor Loaysa algunas vezes y el doctor Bernardino Alonso y el doctor Vargas y unas vezes yvan todos y otras vezes algunos de ellos y que cerca de la examinacion que alli se hizo por los dhos doctores se hizo con esta declaracion en rromançe y la enbiaron firmada de algunos de los dhos doctores aunque este testigo no se acuerda avella
181v firmado y la enbiaron al señor arçobispo de Sevilla[3] a lo que

---

[2]See above, pp. 37, 45-6.

[3]Inquisitor general Alonso Manrique.

cree puede aver tres años poco mas o menos[4] aunque este testigo no sabe en cuyo poder quedo aquella declaracion hecha en rromançe.

Preguntado sy sabe que los dhos doctores o alguno dellos fuesen ynportunados o rrogados por via de negociacion para que no se ynpugnasen propositiones algunas de la dicha dotrina cristiana mas antes se defendiesen y sustentasen que es en lo que cerca desto sabe, dixo que en el tpo que estavan viendo el dicho libro conociendo el doctor Vergara secretario del señor arzobispo de Toledo que este testigo apretava en que se viese el dho libro a lo que cree este testigo el dho doctor Vergara enbio a rrogar a este testigo que llegase a su casa aqui a Alcala porque estava de camino e le rrogo el dho doctor Vergara a este testigo que en esta cosa de la examinacion deste libro de dotrina cristiana que se oviesen moderadamente en el porque era su amigo Valdes que le hizo el dho libro y este testigo rrespondio que lo que fuese moderacion se haria. Y que hablando este testigo con el dho doctor Medina le dixo que tambien le avia hablado sobrello el dho doctor Vergara e otras personas que el dicho doctor Medina dixo fue le leydo dixo que esta bien escripto a lo qual fuy presente yo Agustin Ylla, notario del secreto.

---

[4] i.e., early 1529.

Juan de Medina to Inquisition[5]
February 14, 1532

182r En la villa de Alcala de Enares XIIII dias de febrero de MDXXXII años ante el dicho señor ynquisidor Joan Yanes. El doctor Juan de Medina canonigo de santiuste de Alcala fue llamado por mandado del dho señor ynquisidor e fue del rrecibido juramento en forma devida . . . e syendo preguntado entre otras cosas que declaro dixolo siguiente; e dixo ser de hedad de treynta e cinco años.[6]

Sacose del proceso de Juan de Valdes

. . . que habla sobre sy al tiempo que se vio el dho libro por la facultad de theologia se anduvieron reportando por parte de Valdes o del bachiller Tovar o de otras personas que no calificasen lasdichas proposiciones salvo que quitasen algunas y emendasen otras para que el libro quedase catholico y se imprimiese, dixo que lo que sabe deste capitulo es que al tiempo que la dicha facultad de theologos sometio a este testigo la vista o examen del dho libro de doctrina cristiana comunicando este testigo algunas proposiciones con el dho Valdes para saber su sentido entonces el dho Valdes rrogo ynstantisimamente a este testigo que no notase tales proposyciones ni las descubriese jurando que nunca en tal sentido el las avia tomado y que este fue en el tpo que la dha facultad examinava el dho libro e avia de enbiar su parecer al dho consejo dela Ynquisicion y despues antes que se enbiase el parecer al dho consejo el doctor Miranda canonigo de Sevilla que Dios aya[7] vino a esta villa y entro en la dha facultad de theologos e dixo alli a los dhos theologos como de parte del señor Carl [?] arzobispo de Sevilla ynquisidor general[8] persuadiendoles que en el parecer que oviesen de enbiar no calificasen las dichas proposiciones del dho libro de doctrina cristiana syno que diesen manera como el dho libro quedase corregido e se tornase a ymprimir sanamente diziendoles que esta era la voluntad del dho señor arzobispo y esta fue la causa porque los dhos theologos dieron el parecer tan
182v blando como le dieron en el parecer que enbiaron al consejo dela Ynquisicion e que tambien en el mesmo tpo el doctor Vergara secretario del señor arzobispo de Toledo hermano del dho Tovar hablo a este testigo sobre el dho libro de

---

[5]See above, pp. 44-5, 51.

[6]See above, p. 61, note 9.

[7]Sancho Carranza de Miranda died July 6, 1531.

[8]Alonso Manrique.

dotrina cristiana y que no se acuerda bien de las palabras formales que le dixo el dho Vergara salvo que se acuerda bien que el dho Vergara le dixo que tuviese orden este testigo o diese orden como el dho libro de dotrina cristiana se tornase a ymprimir enmendandose lo que se pudiese enmendar del y que expresamente le dixo el dho Vergara a este testigo que no selo dezia porque si oviese alguna cosa erronea en el dho libro o heretica que no la disimulase sino que la declarase a que le dixo estas palabras en su casa y no se acuerda delante que personas y a lo que este testigo syntio del dho Vergara le parecio que el dicho Vergara tenia amistad con el dho Valdes e que le pesava de qualquier afrenta que el dho Valdes rrecibiese.

Medina to Inquisition[9]
December 14, 1533

182v An catorze dias del mes de diziembre de mille quinientos e treynta a tres años . . . parecio el dho señor doctor Medina cathedratico de theologia en la vniversidad de Alcala e le fue leydo su dicho queantes tenia dicho . . . sobre el libro dela doctrina cristiana y de las proposiciones en el contenidas e dixo que se rratificava en lo que alli avia dicho e se afirmava e afirmo e se rratificava e rratifico e que aquello es la verdad como tiene dicho lo qual dixo delante de personas rreligiosas sacerdotes . . .

Sacose del processo de Matheo Pascual

[9]See above, p. 42.

Juan de Vergara to Inquisition[10]
July 17, 1533

203v . . . Dixo qu es verdad que al tpo que se tratava desta examin-
action[11] este declarante hablo a un doctor que cree que es el
doctor Medina para que no se diese lugar a que se hiziese maliciosa-
mente como algunas vezes acaece e que esto le dixo con toda la
moderacion y tenplacion que se pudiera dezir . . . y aun con
protestarle que no se dexase pasar cosa mala en el dicho libro,
y que esta es la verdad y que publicamente se tenia por de Juan
de Valdes e que nunca esta declarante le leyo mas de que oyo dezir
al doctor Miranda que era muy buen libro y que el avia conprado
algunos dellos y enbiadolos a su tierra y que despues . . . si
avia hallado cosas que notar por no buenas . . . que con declarar
algunas cosillas el libro quedaua muy bueno y que deste voto
avia sydo el dicho doctor Miranda e lo avia ansi dicho al Sr.
arzobispo de Sevilla[12] quasi lo mesmo que esto oyo este declarante
dezir al doctor Coronel e que con esto este declarante tenia el
libro por comendable . . . e que por esto dixolo que tiene dicho
al dho doctor Medina que no se acuerda sy lo dixo a a este testigo
alguno mas que cree que no . . .

Preguntado sy el dho Juan de Valdes avia rrogado por si o por
otra persona a este declarante que pusiese toda la diligencia
que pudiese enle fauorecer aquel libro con los doctores dela
facultad para que no se declarasen proposiciones algunas de los
defectos que avia en ellas expresandolos particularmente, ó sy
le rrogo otra cosa alguna que fuese tocante al favor del dicho
libro, cerca desto dixo todo lo que sabe y ansi mesmo si sobre
204r esta cosa hablo al maestro Pascual que a la sazon era rrector enel
collegio de Alcala, dixo que Juan de Valdes nunca hablo a este dec-
larante sobreste libro ni cree este declarante quel dho Valdes
estava entonces en Alcala alo menos que no se acuerda dello ni
. . . que estuviese el dho Juan de Valdes le hablara sobrello
porque este declarante le avia rrepreendido asperamente el meterse
en materias que no avia estudiado y que no se acuerda este dec-
larante que otra persona en nombre del dho Valdes le hablase
sobre[?]syno fuese el bachiller Tovar su hermano . . .

---

[10] See above, pp. 44, 47, 52.

[11] of the Doc. Cris. in 1529.

[12] Alonso Manrique

Juan de Vergara to Inquisition[13]
March 6, 1534

284r Dixo otro testigo jurado[14] que depuso enel año de mill e qtos e treinta y dos: que sabe que al tpo que se disputaua entre los doctores theologos de la villa de Alcala para liquidar y examinar vn libro intitulado Doctrina xana que hizo vn Valdes natural de Cuenca segun dizen, vido este testigo quel Doctor Vergara hablo a vno de los dhos Doctores que entendian en la examinaçion del dho libro: y le rogo que en la dha examinaçion se oviessen moderadamente enel dho examen: porque era su amigo Valdes que lo hizo, e que oyo dezir a otra persona delos dhos Doctores que tanbien le auia hablado sobreste caso el dho Doctor Vergara.

Dixo otro testigo jurado[15] que depuso en vn dia del mes de hebr° del año de MDXXXII, que al tiempo que la facultad de theologos sometio la vista o examen de vn libro intitulado de Doctrina Xana suso dho de Juan de Valdes vio como el Doctor Vergara, secr° del Sr. arçobispo de Toledo hablo a vno de los doctores de la dha facultad sobrel dho libro Doctrina Xana e que no se acuerda bien de las palabras formales que le oyo dezir, saluo que se acuerda bien, que le oyo dezir ala dha persona que toviesse orden o diesse orden, como el dho libro de Doctrina Xana se tornasse a imprimir emendandose lo que se pudiesse emendar, e que le dixo expressamente ala dha persona que no selo dezia aquello por que si ouiesse alguna cosa erronea o heretica enel dho libro, que no la dissimulasse sino que la declarasse, e que le oyo dezir lo susodho en cierta casa dela dicha villa de Alcala, e que le pareçio a este testigo a lo que sintio del dho Doctor Vergara quel dho Doctor Vergara tenia amistad con el dho Valdes e que le pesaua de que qualquier affrenta quel dho Valdes reçibiesse.

A estos dos testigos ultimos digo que de mas de no estar rratificados ninguna cosa dizen en mi perjuizio, por que si sobreste libro yo les hable (de que no me acuerdo, mas de al vno que es el postrero) fue por que sin aver yo leydo el dho libro ni tenido espaçio para ello, avia entendido del Doctor Miranda que era buen libro e que el auia comprado muchos dellos y embiado los a su tierra, saluo que despues diz que leyendo le sobre aviso se hallaua enel cosas no bien dichas, las quales dezia el dho doctor que en otro

---

[13] See above, pp. 54-5.

[14] Alonso Sánchez

[15] Juan de Medina

284v tpo passaran sin que nadie las notara; mas que se podian facilmente emendar e que su voto era que se emendassen y el libro se tornasse a imprimir; e aunque el dho Doctor es muerto,[16] pero publico es y notorio en la facultad de theologia de Alcala aver sido este su voto: e assi lo deue ser en el Consejo de la Inqsicion [sic], dondel tanbien sobresta materia dixo su parecer; e quasi lo meso questo me acuerdo aber oydo dezir al Doctor Coronel segund que de su pareçer deue tanbien estar enel dho consejo. E por que siendo la materia de tal qualidad, estaua en libertad delos Doctores quando lo examinauan hazer condenaçiones infames o emendaçiones modestas y charitatiuas, pareçiame a mi que auia lugar de conformarme yo en cosa que no auia leydo, conel voto de tales dos personas como el Doctor Miranda y el Doctor Coronel; e conforme a esto hable a este ultimo testigo por que se açerto a hallar en mi posada, que de otra manera no fuera a buscarle ni se me acordara dello; e por ser tal la material le proteste como el aqui confiessa que no se dissimulasse en ninguna manera cosa que tocasse error sino que todo se mirasse y emendasse muy bien. A otro no me acuerdo aver hablado mas si lo hize seria con la mesma protestaçion e dela mesma manera que a este. Lo que dize el dho vltimo testigo que le pareçio que me pesara a mi de qualquier affrenta que Valdes rreçibiera, digo que de qualquier persona me pesaria que reçibiesse affrenta, y contrario no es de christiano, y por esta qualidad me pesara de Valdes e por que le tenia por mançebo virtuoso, e no por otra particularidad ninguna.

---

[16] Sancho Carranza de Miranda died July 6, 1531. See above, p. 61.

APPENDIX III

DIALOGO DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA

WHAT IS A CHRISTIAN?

4v EUS. Sea como mãdaredes: yo huelgo de hazer lo que quereys: y pues tengo de empeçar/ quiero leuantar la platica desde el principio dela christiadad/ porq̃ con la gracia de dios la traygamos al fin: y pues assi es primeramẽte nos dezid/ porq̃ nos llamamos este nõbre de christianos: y de a dõde tuuo pncipio.

AR. Llamamos nos lo/ porq̃ assi como antiguamẽte d Israel se llamarõ israelitas los q̃ erã dl linaje de Israel assi es razõ q̃ nosotros de Jesuchristo nos llamemos christianos pues tenemos fe enel: dondẽ este nõbre primero se puso fue en Antiochia: la causa
5r fue esta/ q̃ viẽdo los apostoles: que crescia el numero delos q̃ se allegauã a su pdicicio/ parescioles q̃ era biẽ q̃ todos los q̃ cofessassen la fe d iesu christo e guardassen la ley euagelica d christo/ se llamassen christianos.

EUS. Que differẽcia ay entre el christiano y el no christiano?

AR. Que el christiano despues de auer recebido el agua del baptismo/ se funda principalmẽte en fe y charidad/ y luego en aprouechar a todos/ y no dañar a alguo y en fin en biuir a exemplo de iesu christo nro señor pura y sinceramẽte.

EU. Y al q̃ vieremos que tiene todo esso tenerleemos por xpiano?

AR. Si/ porq̃ no.

EU. Porq̃ nos podremos largamẽte engañar?

AR. Como?

EU. Yo os lo dire/ quãto ala fe y caridad q̃ son virtudes interiores; ya veys q̃ no podremos juzgar si vno las tiene/ o no: lo demas tambiẽ lo puede tener vn infiel: pues de muchos gẽtiles leemos q̃ lo tuuierõ.

AR. Biẽ se donde vays/ quereys dezir que iuntamente cõ lo q̃ dixe: es menester q̃ el christiano guarde las cerminonias y estatutos dela yglesia.

EU. Muy bien me entẽdistes.

AR. Mirad padre lo q̃ yo dixe q̃ el xpiano deue tener/ es lo prin-
5v cipal: estotro/ es accessorio: assi q̃ dla misma manera q̃ no tenemos

por xpiano al q̃ no guarda las cerimonias dla yglia/ q̃rria yo q̃ no tuuiessemos ta poco por xpiano al q̃ no hiziesse lo q̃ pmero dixe. po esta enste caso los juyzios dl vulgo y avn dmas q̃ vulgo ta corropidos/ q̃ qndo enllo pieso es cierto q̃ d lastima se me rope las entranas: po desto qga hablaremos adelante a otro pposito.

EU. En verdad vos haueys respodido harto mejor que vn cierto donado nro: que pguntandole vna vez por reyr/ q̃ differecia auia entre los christianos y losmoros/ dixo q̃ el no sabia otra/ sino q̃ nosotros no comemos carne la qresma y ellos si/ y nosotros guardamos los domigos y fiestas y ellos no: pues si os plaze: bie auia treynta anos el macebo q̃ era doado.

AR. Por cierto el auia deprẽdido harto cõ vra cõuersaciõ. aosadas q̃ esse tal era mas afficionado al torrezno q̃ al libro. Pues tornado a nro pposito/ es menester q̃ el christiano tega la senal d christiadad q̃ dxo jesu xpo nro senor alos Apostoles/ qndo les dixo. Enste[1] conoscera todos q̃ soys mis discipulos: si os amaredes
6r vnos a otros: porq̃ pues au agora nosotros al q̃ no ada vestido cõ estas vestiduras no le tenemos por frayle d sat Hieronymo: porq̃ alguos dize es esta la senal q̃ dxo sat Hieronymo a sus frayles. es tabie mucha razo q̃ al q̃ no tuuiere la senal q̃ jesu xpo dexo alos suyos: no le tengamos por chriano.

---

[1]Should read En esto.

ERASMUS

17v EU. Es me dios testigo:que entre muchas declaraciones del credo que he oydo/ es esta que aqui aueys dicho: la que mas me satisfaze: e por esto os suplico señor que me digays si la aueys aprendido de algun libro.

AR. Que me plaze de muy buena gana. Bien aureys oydo nombrar vn excelente doctor verdaderamente theologo que agora biue: el qual se llama Erasmo roterodamo?

EU. Si he.

AR. Ya aueys leydo algunas obras suyas?

EU. No/ porque algunos me han aconsejado que me guarde de
18r leerlas.

AR. Pues tomad vos mi consejo e dexad a essos para necios: e vos leed y estudiad enlas obras de Erasmo e vereys quan gran fructo sacais: e dexado aparte esto: aueis de saber que entre las obras deste Erasmo ay vn librito de colloquios familiares el qual dize el que hizo para que los niños juntamente aprendiessen latinidad e christiandad/ porque en el trata muchas cosas christianas;entre estos pues ay vno donde se declara el credo casi dela manera que yo aqui os lo he declarado: e no os marauilleys que lo tenga assi enla cabeça que lo he leydo muchas vezes: e con mucha atencion.

EU. Digo os de verdad que dexada a parte el auctoridad de vuestra persona/ la qual yo tengo en mucho solamente esta declaracion del credo me afficionara ha leer en Erasmo/ e nunca dexarlo delas manos: lo qual entiendo hazer assi de aqui adelante.

AN. Por el habito de sant Pedro/ que aun que por informacion de algunos amigos mios estaua mal con esse Erasmo que dezis:yo de aqui adelante este bien. pues vos señor le alabays tanto. mirad
18v quanto haze al caso la buena communicacion:pero ha de ser con esta condicion pues yo no entiendo essos latines/ que me aueys de dar vn traslado desse colloquio/ o como le llamays.

AR. Soy contento/ yo hare qse os de: pero mirad padre honrrado las cosas semejantes/ mas es menester qse tengan imprimidas y encaxadas enel alma/ q escritas enlos libros. Digo os lo porque querria hiziessedes mas caso de tener lo dicho en vuestra anima q en vuestra camara.

FIRST COMMANDMENT

20r ARÇOBISPO. . . . Es menester que sepan/ que ay principalmente dos maneras de ydololatria/ vna es exterior/ e otra interior. La exterior es adorar vn madero/ vna piedra/ vn animal/ o alguna cosa tal: assi como parece por el testamento viejo . . . y esta procedia dela interior la qual es quando el hõbre/ o por temor de la pena/ o por su interesse ppio dexa de adorar exteriormente estas criaturas. Pero enlo interior tiene puesto su amor e su cõfiança enlla. poca sãtidad es ala verdad/ no hincar las rodillas alas honrras/ ni alas riquezas ni a otras criaturas si por otra parte les offrecemos nuestros coraçones: que es la mas noble parte del hombre.
20v Porque esto no es otra cosa: sino adorar a dios cõla carne/ q̃ es cõel cuerpo exterior e adorar interiormẽte ala creatura cõel spiritu pues conociendo dios esta tan gradissima affrenta que le hazemos: se quexa della en muchas partes dela sagrada escriptura. Assi como aquello: Israel si me oyeres. no ternas dios nueuo/ ni adoraras dios ageno. en lo qual parece que a cada vno d nosotros dize. O hombre peccador sabete que cõ tus fuerças/ ni tus exercicios jamas podras venir a tanta perficiõ que no adores dioses agenos/ porque puesto caso que no adores exteriormente estatuas: en tu coraçon/ empero amas mas las criaturas que ami. Pues creeme que entõces no adoraras dios ageno quando me oyeres a mi: e confiandote en mis palabras las creyeres. Y sola esta cõfiança te quitara e apartara de toda cobdicia e confiança que tengas enlas cosas exteriores: e te trahera a mi que soy tu criador.

ANTRO. Gran cosa es essa que aueys dicho: por charidad me dezid: como se podra hazer esso.

AR. Aueys de saber que la fe y confiança que en Jesu christo
21r ponemos alanza fuera toda confiança de propria sabiduria/ Justicia e virtud: porq̃ nos ensẽa que si jesuchristo no ouiera muerto por nosotros/ ni nosotros mismos ni ninguna otra creatura nos pudiera dar verdadera felicidad/ y deste conoscimiento nasce q̃ menospreciemos todas las cosas exteriores: de manera q̃ el q̃ quisiere hazer lo q̃ vos pregũtays/ es menester q̃ muy de veras tenga esta tal cõfiança: y assi quando el christiano oye q̃ jesu christo padescio por el e lo cree/ nascele vna nueua cõfiança/ e juntamente peresce todo el desseo delas cosas exteriores/ e nasce vna estimaciõ d solo jesu christo: el qual conosce q̃ solo le basta/ y del qual espera todas las cosas/ e por esto le ama sobre todas las cosas. De manera q̃ esta claro/ que solamente aq̃llos cumplen este primer mandamiento/ que tienen entera fe firme esperança y perfecto amor con Jesu christo nro dios y redemtor desassidos totalmente de todo affecto de cosas exteriores para lo q̃l es ~~sin~~ dubda menester especial gra d dios.

THIRD COMMANDMENT

25v AR. . . . Desta manera es menester q̃ los christianos principalmẽte
lo entẽdamos/ conuiene a saber/ que nos manda dios/ q̃ en los dias
de fiesta principalmente estemos limpios de pecado: porque esto es
propiamente sanctificar las fiestas/ hazernos santos en ellas: quã
mal se guarda esto entre los Christianos: no ay necessidad de
26r dezir lo: pero creed me q̃ qndo veo los dias de fiesta algunos cor-
rillos de murmuradores/ a los quales llama cõ razon Dauid cathedra
pestilentie/ y otros de jugadores: vnos en las plaças/ otros en las
barbacanas/ me enciẽdo en vna tal ira/ q̃ qrria dar bozes de lastima:
como. y no seria mucho mejor/ q̃ todos aqllos entendiessen en traba-
jar en sus haziendas que no en offender a dios? no se que os diga/
si no que veo que son ya venidas las costumbres delos christianos
a tanta miseria/ y son caidas en tãta ceguedad: que con lo que
Pesamos guardar las fiestas/ las quebrantamos: y en los mismos
dias que nos mãda dios que nos hagamos santos/ y nos demos todos
y del todo a el/ en aquellos mismos nos hazemos infernales: y nos
27r damos todos y del todo a satanas.

EUSEBJO: Pues que tan mal os paresce esso/ porque pues soys
perlado no le remediais?

AR. Quereis que os diga: estas cosas tiene necessidad de remedio
general: y lo que yo siento es el poco cuidado q̃ ay en poner este
remedio: y si in mi estuuiesse: yos doy mi palabra que ello se
remediasse muy presto/ si no veldo en que ya en mi Arçobispado
26v se empieça a remediar y si biuo yo hare de manera q̃ las cosas
anden de otro norte que andan: pero dexando esto a parte/ digo
yo q̃ el buẽ christiano ha de pensar que todos los dias son fiestas
y q̃ en todos ha de cumplir este precepto: y se ha d sanctificar:
quiero dzir? me jorar en su manera y arte de biuir: hasta q̃ al-
cãce entera perficiõ/ aunq principalmẽte en los domingos y fiestas:
pero aueis d saber q todos los mãdamiẽtos para q̃ se puedan guardar
de tal manera q̃ por ellos se alcance vida eterna/ requiere gue el
que los guarda este fuera de pecado moral y tẽga charidad/ q̃ es
amor perfecto de dios: porq dode esto no ay/ auque se cumpla ex-
teriormente los mãdamiẽtos/ no se cumplen ala intenciõ para q̃
fuerõ instituidos: pues pa tener esta charidad es menester q̃ la
pidamos a dios: y assi es mi thema: q̃ el q̃ qsiere guardar los
mãdamientos como deue/ no ha de tomar otro medio mas pricipal q̃
la oraciõ/ y hara mas q̃ por otra via ninguna: aqui fuera razõ que
dixeramos delos exercicios en q̃ el christiano deue gastar estos
tales dias: y de como h̃a de oyr su missa y su sermõ y assi
27r otras cositas: pero q̃dar sean para otro dia.

EU. Muy bien dezis: pero marauillo me como hos passastes tan ligeramente: por el juyzio del vulgo en esto delas fiestas: q̃ creen las guarda: el q̃ no caua ni cose: aunq̃ en todo el dia no haga sino jugar e entẽder en otras cosas tales y aũ peores.

AR. Pues esso es tan comũ y avn en mas q̃ vulgo q̃ no ay para q̃ hablar en ello mas delo dicho.

AN. Quiero os cõtar vna cosa donosa que haze a este pposito: q̃ acotecio en mi tierra: siẽdo yo mochacho: q̃ en oyros lo que dezis se me ha venido ala memoria. Aueis de saber q̃ vn dia dla trasfiguracio apedreo muy finamẽte: y acotecio q̃ en aq̃l mesmo dia vn labrador hõbre de buena simplicidad: sembro vnos nabos: y vnos vezinos suyos q̃ lo viero dixero lo a otro: y assi de poco en poco se supo enla cibdad: y todos aueriguaro q̃ la causa dla piedra hauia sido porq̃ aq̃l labrador: coel sembrar de sus nabos: gbranto la fiesta: jutarose los de su cabildo y sentenciarõle en q̃ agasse cierta cera y missas: y les diesse en su cofadriavna comida a todosq̃ le costo al pobre hõbre harto dinero.

AR. Donoso cueto es esso: por cierto essa fue ppiamẽte sen-
27v tecia de cofadria: veys ay auria enla cibdad muchos q̃ gastariã aq̃l dia en jugar a naypes y a dados y en ãdar cõ mugeres/ y mintiendo o/ murmurado/ trafagado/ y haziẽdo otras cosas semejãtes: y no les achacauã la piedra/ y achacauã la a el pobre labrador: o bẽdito sea dios q̃ tata paciẽcia tiene pa con sentir tãtos males/ y ceguedad: digos d vdad/ q̃ qndo en esto pieso se me rope el coraço. no digo yo q̃ no hizo mal el labrador po qxo me del poco respecto q̃ se tiene alos madamietos d dios: y qxo me dl falso juizio y enganoso cõ q̃ juzgamos estas cosas.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH COMMANDMENTS

33r AN. Por vuestra vida que me digais a quiẽ llamays varõ spiritual: dezis lo quiça por los frayles/ o por los clerigos?

AR. Muy engañado estays/ q̃ ni lo digo por los vnos/ ni por los otros: sabeis padre quie es varõ spiritual? el que gusta e siente las cosas spuales y enellas se deleyta y descansa: y delas
33v corporales y exteriores ningun caso haze: ãtes las menospcia como cosas iferiores a el: y en fin el q̃ tiene puesto en dios todo su amor e lo viuifica e coserua/ la gra dl spuscto agora sea mãcebo: casado/ clerigo/ o frayle.

AN. q̃reys señor q̃ os diga muy dmasiada mẽte es estrecha esta vra religiõ: quanto q̃ dssa mana muy pocos guardan los mandamiẽtos de dios.

AR. Que sean pocos los q̃ los guardan yo os lo cõfiesso: pero tambie os cõfiesso q̃ delos que no los guardan son perdonados aquellos que conocen su falta e se humilla delãte de dios y procura guardarlos lo mejor que pueden: e se cõfiessa e haze penitencia delas faltas en que an caydo: y espera alcãcar pdõ/ mediãte la sangre de iesu xpo.

EU. Lo dicho basta pa la dclaraciõ dste mãdamiẽto. Dezid nos agora lo q̃ entẽdeis del ocãtauo mãdamiẽto: el q̃l es. No hablaras cõtra tu pximo falso testiõnio.

AR. Ẽste mãdamiẽto nos mãda dios q̃ no offendamos a nros pximos/ dañando les o enla fama/ o enla hõrra. Cõtra este peca infinitas maneras de gẽtes: los murmuradores/ maldizientes/ mẽtirosos/ engañadores; e peca tãbiẽ los maestros q̃ a sus discipulos enseñan
34r cosas falsas: e los picadores[2] q̃ no da al pueblo la dotrina como la siẽte e la deue sentir/ sino como a ellos mejor les esta: porq̃ todos estos es menester q̃ pa traer las cosas a sus inteciones:: leuãte mil falsos testimonios: entre estos sin ninguna dubda tiene mayor culpa los pdicadores q̃ por traer la escriptura sagrada/ a q̃ diga lo q̃ ellos qere: e tãbiẽ los q̃ por mouer el pueblo: a vnas deuocioes: no se q̃ tales/ les predican en pulpitos e fuera dellos: no se q̃ milagros falsos: y les cuentan cuẽtos e cosas falsas y mẽtirosas: e todo teniẽdo respeto a sus iteresses malditos e diabolicos/ de los q̃les dize el aptol q̃ su dios esel vientre. po porq̃ estos e otros semejãtes a ellos sõ psonas q̃ todas y dl todo

---

[2] predicadores

seã ddicado a seruir al mũdo/ e su exercicio no es otro sino
complazer a sus apetitos carnales/ y d xpianos solamẽte tiene el
nõbre: no gero q gastemos nro tpo en hablar enellos/ ni menos q
tegamos cueta coellos: mas q pa rogar a dios/ los saq̃ d sus ruynes
e viciosos tratos: y les de aios obedietes a su satissima volutad:
desseo yo: q todos los plados fuessemos tales q conociessemos muy
34v bie la maldad dstos e conoscida los castigassemos largamente para
que si quiera de necessidad hiziessen virtud.

LOVE THY NEIGHBOR

41r AR. . . . el q̃ ama a dios/ conoce q̃ la volũtad d dios es q̃ ame a su pximo: y como su dsseo no sea otro sino agradar a dios: luego ama a su pximo/ y ni mas ni menos cũple toda la ley de dios: verdaderamente no se como no tienen empacho vnos Hombres/ q sin monstrar en toda su vida señal deste amor: por no se q̃ cerimonias y deuociones q̃ ellos se inuentan/ se tiene por mas q̃ christianos/ y lo q̃ mas es de notar y aun de llorar en los tales/ es q al q̃ veen q no toma y adora sus frias y vanas deuociones: aunque este tal claramente biua conforme ala ley de dios/ no le tienen por
41v christiano: esta es sin dubda ninguna la justicia pharisaica/ que ensalça sus obras exteriores/ y disminuye y tiene en poco las interiores dios otros. Dexad me el cargo que si dois me da vida yo hare en esto cosas de que los ruynes se spanten/ y los buenos se gozen.

49r AR. Mirad padre cura lo que yo en todas mis platicas pretendo/
es mostraros lo q̃ conuiene pa q̃ todos seamos verdaderos xpianos
legitimos e no fingidos/ euagelicos/ e no ceremoniaticos/
spirituales/ e no supersticiosos/ de aĩmos generosos e no escro-
pulosos e para q̃ pogamos nra xpiandad enla sinceridad dl aĩo/
y no en solas las aparecias exteriores: y en fin pa q̃ conozcamos
en q̃ cosiste la libertad euagelica: e a qnto se estiede: e pa q̃
hagamos nra cueta: q̃ si agora somos ninos en iesu xpo/ qero dzir
q̃ no tenemos criado dl todo a jesu xpo en nras aĩas/ es menester
trabajar por criarle/ y etoces lo ternemos criado: qndo fueremos
49v varones pfectos: ala q̃l pfecio somos sin dubda obligados todos
los xpianos/ . . .

51v Ar. . . . . e q̃ndo vos padre cura a vr̃os niños/ y a otros q̃lesqera
52r enseñaredes estas virtudes: sera bien q̃ las apliq̃is ala dotrina d iesu xpo: pa q̃ quãdo seã grãdes e las tope en algũ libro d algũ filosofo: las sepã eteder como xpianos: e no como filosofos.

AN. Esso hare yo de muy buena gana: aun q̃ no fuesse sino porq̃ soy enemigo dstas filosofias e letras pfanas: po es menester q vos me digais como lo tẽgo d hazer.

AR. Como padre/ y aueis os dado algũ tp̃o a estas letras?

AN. No ẽ verdad ni aun qsiera.

AR. Pues porq̃ estais mal cõlo q̃ no conoceis?

AR. Por vr̃a vida q̃ no me metais eñstas p̃gũtas/ sino q̃ me digays esto q̃ os p̃gũto.

FAITH

52v AR. . . . Sō pues tres las virtudes Theologoles:[3] cōuiene a saber
fe/ espança e charidad: las q̄les esta_tā cojuctas e ayutadas entre
si: q̄ la vna nace dela otra: e assi tego por muy aueriguado/ que
el q̄ perfetamēte tuuiera la vna: las terna todas tres. digamos pues
53r pmero dla pmera q̄ es la fe. Quanto alo primero es menester q̄
sepays como este vocablo/ fe/ se toma en dos maneras en la sagrada
escriptura: en la vna entēdemos/ q̄ fe es/ vna certidumbre y creen-
cia dlas cosas q̄ nunca vimos/ esta puede estar muerta sin obras/ y
pue[4] la tener vn ladron/ y vn desuella caras/ aunq̄ imperfecta:
desta aueis de saber que habla pocas vezes la sagrada escritura: y
esta es la q̄ dize santiago/ q̄ quando no esta acompañada cō
charidad/ esta muerta: quiere dezir/ que vale poco. Enla otra
manera entendemos/ q̄ fe es confiança: assi como si quando oymos
algunas palabras de dios/ despues d auer creydo que son suyas y
verdaderas/ ponemos toda nuestra confiança en dios/ q̄ las cump-
lira: entonces tenemos la fe biua: la qual es raiz delas obras de
charidad: y assi como dela raiz del arbol salen las ramas y dōde
ay raiz/ no puede ser que a su tiempo no aya ramas: assi donde esta
tal fe como esta/ no puede ser que no aya obras de charidad/ si em-
pero se ha de conseruar: mas os digo/ que porque esta fe de que
yo hablo: ala qual los Theologolos[5] llaman fe formada/ es como vn
53v biuo fuego en los coraçōes delos fieles/ con el qual de cada dia
mas se apuran y allegan a dios: por esso la cōparo yo al fuego/
porque assi como es imposible que el fuego no escallente/ assi
tambien es impossible/ que esta fe/ no obre obras d charidad/
porque sino las obrasse/ dexaria d ser fe verdadera: de todo
esto podemos muy bien concluyr/ que para que vn Christiano tenga
fe/ es menester que crea en dios: y q̄ crea a dios.

AN. Para mi seria esso menester mas claro.

AR. Pues yo os lo declarare: quando digo que es menester q̄ crea
a dios: digo que ha de creer todas las cosas que estan enla sagrada
escriptura escritas de dios: quando digo que es menester que crea
en dios: digo que ha de creer y tener entera confiança en dios: como
en vltimo fin suyo y en los pmetimietos d dios: puesto caso q̄ le
parezca todo sobre razō humana: pues en tal caso es menester q̄
este subjuzgada la razo ala obediecia dela fe.

---

[3] Should be Theologales.

[4] puede

[5] Should be Theologos.

EU. Veamos y dssa manera no se cõfunde cõla fe la esperãça?

AR. No d nĩgũa manera: y para q̃ veays esto muy claramẽte/ os porne vna coparacio: y dspues d puesta/ auremos dclarado q cosa
54r es esperança: imaginidad[6] agora/ q̃ vn hombre q̃ tiene la cabeça y lospies de cera/ esta de aqlla parte d aql mote/ el ql es todo de fuego: y q̃ viene a el vn otro hõbre y le dize: si quieres passar dela otra parte dõde ay vn lugar amarauilla dleytoso/ cõfiate en mi y da me la mano que yo te passare: y si nũca te apartares d mi/ ni me dxares por cosa nĩgua: poner te he enl lugar deleytoso q̃ te digo: luego el hõbre aunq̃ le paresce cosa ĩpossible cõfiadose enl/ mete se enl fuego: y aunq̃ enl camino tropieça y cae jamas pierde la cõfiança q̃ tiene en su guiador/ sino tornãdo a leuãtarse/ passa adelante: veys aq la fe: este mismo hõbre lleua muy grãde esperãça en su guiador/ q̃ passados dl mote/ lo porna enl lugar deleitoso q̃ le dixo: sino se aparta dl ni le dexa: veys aq la esperãça.

---

[6] Should be imaginad.

MASS

61r AR. . . . no creays q̃ cũple conel mandamiento dela yglesia: los q̃ ni por pensamiẽto estan atentos alo q̃ enla missa se dize: antes todo aquel tiempo se estan parlando . . en cosas que aun para detras d̃ sus fuegos no son honestas/ son quasi como estos los que lleuã ala yglesia sus librillos de rezar: e sus rosarios en que no hazen sino rezar todo el tiempo que la missa se dize: e quãto es mayor el numero delos psalmos: e dlos pater nostres que han ensartado/ tanto se tienen por mas santos: e piensan que han
61v hecho mayor seruicio a dios: e yo enla verdad no osaria tassar el valor de aquella su oracion: pues veo q̃ si qndo salẽ dela yglesia les pgũtais que euãgelio se canto enla missa: o que dezia la epistola/ no os sabrã dezir palabra dello: mas q̃ si estuuierã enlas indias.

AN. Y essos dezis que no cumplẽ cõla intencio dela yglesia?

AR. Si sin dubda/ digo mas q̃ alos pmeros les estuuiera mucho mejor estarse en sus casas: y alos segundos/ tener por estonces cerrados sus librillos: alomenos en tanto q̃ dizen la epistola/ y el euãgelio/ e las oraciões publicas dla missa.

CONFESSION

63r AR. El segundo mandamiento es/ q̃ nos cõfessemos vna vez enel año por q̃resma. Bien os podria dezir hartas cosas acerca dela cõfessiõ: porque cõ mucha curiosidad las he escudriñado: pero otra vez quiça hablaremos largo enella/ agora solamẽte piremos lo que haze al caso/ para que el padre cura instruya a sus subditos. Quãto alo primero deueis les dezir/ que la cõfessiõ se dio para remedio del pecado: quiero dezir para que/ si despues de recebida el agua del baptismo/ pecaremos conociendo nuestro pecado/ e confessandolo nos perdone dios: dicho esto les direys quan gran bien es no tener necessidad d cõfessarse en toda su vida.

AN. Como/ y teneis esso por bueno?

AR. Y aũ por mas que rebueno.

AN. Porque?

AR. Porque si es bueno que no pequen: tambien sera bueno que no tenga necessidad de confessarse.

63v AN. Esso es impossible.

ARCO. No digais por vuestra vida esso/ que es muy grande error. Como nos paresce que con la gracia de Dios es possible?

ANTRO. Si: pero.

ARCOBJSPO. No digais: pero/ que pues es possible con la gracia de dios: y es possible alcaçar la gracia de dios: tambien sera possible no pecar mortalmente/ e no pecando mortalmente/ no auria necessidad de cõfession.

AN. Digo que teneis razon/ pero no veis vos que dessa manera no cumplirian cõ este mandamieto dela yglesia/ si en toda su vida no se cõfessassen.

AR. Mal me entendistes/ q̃ yo dixe que no se cõfessassen en su vida con necessidad: y qse entender q̃ es bien que se cõfiessen sin ella/ quãdo la yglesia lo mãda: y esto por muchas causas q̃ seria luengo dezirlas.

AN. Yo me satisfago bien cõ vuestra razõ/ pero por vuestra vida que me digais/ q̃ es la causa/ q̃ los q̃ comunmente veemos que son mejores xpianos/ e que biuen mejor e mas santamente/ se confiessan mas vezes?

AR. Pluuiera a dios que yo lo supiera que si dixera de buena gana.

AN. Todo via quiero que me digays vuestro parecer enello.

64r AR. Lo que os puedo dezir/ es que yo querria nũca jamas hazer cosa/ que tuuiesse necessidad de cõfessarla/ ni de que mi cõciẽcia me accusasse: e assi no confessarme mas que de ano a año/ solamente por cumplir cõla yglesia. Quanto a lo que essos que vos llamais mejores xpianos hazen/ no me parece que mi juyzio es bastante pa juzgarlo: yo sin ningũa dubda creo/ q̃ si essas tales personas supiessen lo q̃ dela cõfessiõ se deue saber y que es lo que el christiano es obligado a cõfessar e que no: por ventura si son tales como vos dezis/ se cõfessarian menos vezes: saluo sino piẽsan que es alguna sanctidad confessarse muchas vezes: que en tal caso no digo nada.

AN. Pues dezid nos por charidad/ que es lo que deuemos cõfessar?

AR. Larga cosa me pedis: pero en dos palabras os digo/ q̃ solamente aquellas cosas/ de que nuestra consciencia nos accusa y aquello en que offendimos a dios/ o por ygnorancia/ o por flaqueza/ o por malicia.

EUSEBJO. Digo os que me aueys contentado enesto mas q̃ pẽsays/ porq̃ os doy mi fe/ q̃ muchas vezes me voy a cõfessar e por tener q̃
64v dzir digo algũas cosas d q̃ ni por pensamiento/ me acusa mi cõciencia: e aun conozco esto mismo en algunos delos que se vienen a cõfessar comigo/ y enla verdad aun que no es malo: pero tampoco es bueno: pues esta mas cerca de mal que de bien.

AN. Pues que vos os aueis cõfessado/ no es mucho q̃ yo tambien me confiesse: y digo os que por las ordenes que recebie[7] nigũa vez me voy a cõfessar/ que mire en nada desso/ ni se me acusa la con ciẽcia: ni sino/ ni menos me cõfiesso: sino por vna buena costumbre q̃ tengo de hazerlo: e assi me pareceria que quãdo no la[8] hiziesse era perdido: y aun os prometo que creo haze lo mismo la mayor parte delos clerigos: estos[9] veran muy bien los que nos confiessan: porque los mismos pecados q̃ confessamos antaño confessamos ogaño: e lo mismo oy q̃ ayer.

---

[7] recebi

[8] Should be a neuter, lo.

[9] Should be esto.

AR. No passen vuestras confessiones adelãte: que aun podria yo dezir tambien mi parte/ si dixese lo que siendo mochacho mis compañeros me contauan quando venian de confessarse delo que sus confessores passaua coellos. Yo por mi verdad no se porque lo hazen/ ni q̃ siẽte dela cõfession: ni se si piensan q̃ fue
65r instituida para remedio delas animas de los fieles/ o para sus granjerias: pero mas vale callar esto/ pues no aprouecha nada. Y digo tornãdo alo que primero dixe/ que junto cõ dezirles a todos lo que primero dixe/ les deueis dezir tabien/ que si a caso por flaqueza cayeren en algun pecado/ pidiendo a dios perdõ del/ tomen el remedio dla cõfessiõ: y esto con mucha cordura e discreciõ/ no curando de cõfessar/ como dixe mas de aquellõ de que sienten que sus cõciẽcias les accusan: y esto breuemẽte/ sin entremeter platicas de ayre: es tambien menester q̃ les auiseis/ que solamente los lleue ala confessiõ: el dolor dela offensa que vuieren hecho a dios. esto es para quanto alos que se vã a cõfessar. Allende desto deuen los confessores guardarse de no ensenar a pecar a los
67v q̃ cõfiessan: digolo/ porque ya los mas tienen por costumbre preguntar ela cõfessiõ/ cosas que seria mejor callarlas. Quanto que a mi muchas maneras de pecados me han enseñado cõfessores necios/ que yo no sabia: bastara pues auiendo oydo la cõfessiõ del penitẽte/ el cõfessor lo absoluiesse y auisandole/ y amonestandole/ segun
65v conuiene a cerca delo q̃ ha cõfessado lo aie[10] assi para q̃ de alli adelante se guarde de offender a dios/ como para q̃ crea/ que ya dios le ha perdonado sus pecados/ mediante su cõfessiõ/ e la absolucio del sacerdote. Y si desta manera se haze: la conciencia del otro yra apaziguada/ y escusar se han algunas ninerias: y aun podria dezir vellaquerias/ que passan so color de confession. La penitencia que aueis dar al que viene a confessar/ es menester que principalmente sea mandarle leer en algun libro/ donde pueda hallar buena dotrina e algun remedio/ para el pecado a que es mas inclinado/ porq̃ assi mejor se pudea apartar del.

---

[10] anime

ABSTINENCE

67r AR. . . . El q̃rto mãdamiẽto es/ ayunar los dias q̃ mãda la yglia. es menester q̃ sepamos de dõde se empeço el ayuno: y q̃ es lavirtud dl e tambien q̃ mouio ala yglia pa q̃ lo diesse por pcepto: pues pece cosa q̃ auia de ser vo̲lutaria: y en fin/ pa q̃ el ayuno q̃ hizieremos sea bueno/ q̃ codiciones ha de tener. dicho esto/ vereis q̃ es lo que conuiene dezir y enseñar. Quanto alo primero/ el ayuno se empeço mucho antes del aduenimiento de iesu christo nuestro señor/ e la primera vez q̃ se halla nombrado enla sagrada escriptura es/ enel libro delos numeros: pero segun paresce entonces el ayuno/ era para affligirse los cuerpos: y estar en silencio y tristeza: despues los ayunos delos sãtos padres que estauan enel yermo de Egypto: era vna continua abstinencia de
67v todos manjares/ que fuessen exquisitos: e lo que comiã era lo que mas sin trabajo podian hallar/ enla tierra donde morauan/ no se les daua mas que fuesse carne que pescado/ comian templadamente/ no para hartar los cuerpos/ sino para substentar las vidas: este es el ayuno que en muchas partes dela sagrada escriptura esta alabado: y este/ es el que yo desseo que deprẽdiessen a ayunar/ los que se precian de ayunadores/ que no a no comer carne: e gastar en pescados traydos de no se dõde/ dos vezes mas que gastarian en carne: e de aquello/ con tanto q̃ no sea carne/ piẽsan que les es licito comer hasta rebentar: esta manera de ayuno yo ni la tengo por ayuno ni por nada/ sino por vicio: el otro ala fe es el que subjuzga la sensualidad ala razon/ e la carne al spiritu: e assi haze al aima que se allegue a dios/ e que aborrezca los plazeres dela carne: e aquellos comeres demasiados/ y glotonerias: pues dexado esto/ despues andando el tiempo/ la yglesia/ mouida por causas santas e buenas: instituyo el ayuno que agora tenemos e dela manera q̃ lo tenemos: verdad es/ que personas supersticio-
68r osas: lo tienen corropido/ como muchas otras cosas vsando del no segũ la intencio dla yglesia: sino segũ lo q̃ ellos se fingẽ: pues dexãdo estos/ que ellos daran cuenta a dios de lo que hazen: digo que eneste caso de ayunos/ no querria que dixessedes otra cosa/ especialmente alos niños/ sino que el ayuno principal del christiano/ deue ser abstinencia de pecados e de vicios: y esto deueis selo aconsejar muy ahincadamente: y deste otro ayuno corporal no cureis d dezir alos niños nada: antes les dezid e dclarad/ como en tanto q̃ sõ mochachos/ no sõ obligados a ayunar.

AN. Paq̃? no es mejor q̃ ayunẽ aun q̃ no seã obligados?

AR. No.

AN. Porq̃ no?

AR. Porq̃ los ayunos veemos muchas vezes q̃ causa alos mochachos enfermedades: la causa es/ q̃ como el dia q̃ ayuna/ acordadose q̃ no ha de cenar: come a medio dia demasiado dlo q̃ suele/ hazeles mal: ay assi mismo otro incoueniente/ q̃ yo tengo por mayor: y es q̃ si les poneis desde ninos: en q̃ piesan que es gra xpiandad/ ayunar mucho/ ponen en aquello su sanctidad y en lugar de hazerlos pios/ e sanctos/ hazeys los supersticiosos e ruynes.

68v AN. Y dezis me de veras q̃ diga esso alos mochachos?

AR. Si/ y aun mas q̃ de veras.

AN. Pues yo os prometo de tomar vuestro consejo: aun que a mi juyzio/ si quiera por la buena costubre seria bueno que ayunassen.

AR. La buena costubre hazed vos q̃ la tengan/ en amar a dios/ y a sus pximos y desotras no se os d nada.

68v AN. . . . del pagar diezmos e primicias q̃ es/ qnto mandamiẽto que nos dezis?

AR. Que q̃reis q̃ os diga? no nada.

AN. Como no?

AR. Yo os lo dire/ porq̃ para dezir os verdad/ pues aqui todo puede passar. yo tengo por tan de buẽ recabdo alos ecclesiasticos que no dexaremos yr al otro mundo/ muy cargadas de diezmos las aĩmas d nuestros feligreses. aosadas pluuiesse a dios/ que tanto recaudo e diligencia pusiessemos en instruyr el pueblo enla doctrina christiana. Quanto ponemos en hazer les pagar los diezmos e las primicias. Si esto se hiziesse assi yo os pmeto q̃ todos fuessemos santos.

AN. Pues no os pece q̃ es biẽ q̃ los clerigos cobremos nr̃as r̃etas?

AR. Yo no digo q̃ no se cobr̃e/ po digo que seria biẽ que nosotros
69r hiziessemos dellas lo q̃ somos obligados/ y no lo q̃ hazemos/ y q̃ pues nos dan los legos sus rentas/ porq̃ les demos dotrina/ la diessemos. se q̃ sant Pablo muy mejor era que ninguno de nosotros/ y co mucho mejor titulo podia pedir diezmos y rediezmos: pero ya sabeys q̃ era tanta su modestia/ que por no ser a ninguno molesto/ y porque no paresciesse que por interesse predicaua a jesu christo/ jamas dexaua de dia o de noche de trabajar en su officio con que por sus ppias manos ganaua de comer para si y pa los q̃ traya consigo/ delo qual el mismo en muchas partes y con mucha razon se alaba y dize que notemos para guardarnos dellos/ alos que andando ociosos/ quieren mantener se delos trabajos ajenos. Pues cosiderado esto/ digo yo q̃ no es malo que nosotros cobremos nuestras rentas/ pero que es bueno y justo que los q̃ nos las dan cobren de nosotros aquello porque nos las dan q̃ es la dotrina/ y mientras ellos no cobran esta dotrina de nosotros/ creed me q̃ no merescemos las rentas q̃ nos dan/ y no tan solamente somos obligados a dar les
69v dotcrina [sic] por sus rentas: po agastar las en aquellas cosas que quiere la yglesia que las gastemos/ verdaderamente yo no se como no tenemos empacho los ecclesiasticos: de gastar las rentas que nos dan para remedio de los pobres/ en cosas profanas y mas que mundanas.

AN. Quanto que a mi no me demandara dios nada desso.

AR. Como no?

AN. Porque al demenos no gasto mi renta como essos que vos dezis en juegos/ ni en vellaquerias/ ni en cosas semejantes.

AR. Pues en que las gastays?

AN. En sostener lo mejor que puedo mi honrra/ y la de mis parientes/ segun couiene a vna persona que tiene la renta y dignidad que yo.

AR. Y desso estais muy cõtento?

AN. Si sin falta: porque no lo tengo destar.

AR. Porque pues no os las dan pa que las gasteys en esso/ sino en sostener la hõrra de dios y de su yglia/ no teneis porq estar muy cõteto dllo.

AN. Como se sostiene la hõrra d dios?

AR. Haziẽdo en todo lo q̃ dios gere: porq̃ no se hõrra el d otra cosa mas q̃ de q̃ sus criaturas cũpla su voluntad: y esto es lo pncipal a q̃ vos y yo y todos duemos tener respeto/ y cõforme a esto deuemos gastar todo lo q̃ tuuieremos.

70r AN. Bien esta esso/ pero la honrra dela yglesia en que esta?

AR. En que la obedezcamos siempre y en todas las cosas/ assi que pues ella nos manda que gastemos nuestras rẽtas con los pobres y necessitados/ es menester que haziendo lo/ assi cumplamos cõ su honrra. No os paresce a vos que se horraria mucho dios y su yglesia/ si entre los christianos ouiesse tantò amor y charidad/ que los que algo tienen/ no dexassen padescer necessidad a los que son pobres?

AN. Si por cierto: pero no se yo porque le ha de pesar a dios que yo gaste mi renta en lo que tengo dicho.

AR. Pues no lo sabeys/ yo os lo quiero dezir: veni aca por vuestra vida/ si vos embiassedes a la feria de Medina del campo vn criado vuestro con cient mil marauedis/ los quales le mandassedes que gastasse en lo necessario para su persona/ y en cõprar algunas cosas q̃ vos le mãdassedes a vuestro proposito/ no holgariadas[11] que lo hiziesse conforme a vuestra voluntad?

---

[11] Should be holgariades.

AN. Si sin dubda.

AR. Y si sin cumplir vuestra voluntad gastasse aquellos dineros en lo q̃ a el se le antojasse puesto caso que fuesse bueno que le hariades?

70v ANTRO. Haria le que me pagasse mis dineros/ y allende desto castigariale muy a mi plazer.

ARGO. Muy bien aueys respondido/ y muy a mi proposito: y pues tambien respondistes/ dezid me/ a vos no os embio Dios ala feria
74r deste mundo?

AN. Si embio.

AR. Y no os dio cient mil marauedis o mas d renta q̃ gastassedes en lo q̃ ouiessedes menester/ y en lo q̃ el os mãdasse?

AN. Si dio.

AR. Y si vos dexando de gastar vr̃a renta en lo q̃ dios quiere/ la gastays en sostener vuestra honrra y la de vuestros parientes/ no os parece q̃ con justa razon os dara dios a vos la pena y castigo q̃ dixistes dariades a vuestro criado?

AN. Si paresce/ po pues me da a mi dios licencia/ q̃ tome para mi lo necessario/ y yo tengo por muy principal mi honrra y la de mis parientes/ licito me es gastar lo q̃ tengo en ello.

AR. A que veamos llamais vos honrra?

AN. A biuir con aq̃l estado y autoridad q̃ biuen otras personas que tiene la dignidad y renta q̃ yo.

AR. Mirad padre cura/ muy engañado estais en esso/ licito os es a vos tomar de vr̃a renta para lo q̃ aueis menester/ segun vuestro
71r estado y manera/ y esto muy moderadamẽte sin tener respeto ala dignidad y renta q̃ teneys/ pues la hõrra dela dignidad cõsiste en q̃ vos hagays en ella lo q̃ deueis/ y no en q̃ tẽgais buenas mulas y muchos criados: assi que la honrra del christiano mas deue consistir en no hazer cosa q̃ delante de dios ni delos hõbres parezca fea/ q̃ no en cosa ninguna mundana: porque essa honrra q̃ vos dezis q̃ sosteneys/ es camino del infierno/ pues tiene anexas assi la auaricia y ambicion . . .

PRAYERS AND DEVOTIONAL EXERCISES

74r AR. . . . el prīcipal fundamiẽto q̃ ouieredes de poner en los aĩos dlos niños/ sea amor dl biẽ/ y aborrescimiẽto dl mal: y luego hazed q̃ encaxẽ en sus aĩos la ley d dios d tal manera/ q̃ jamas se les pueda dsencaxar. quãto a esotras duociones d rezares y ayunos/ y cosas semejãtes q̃ es todo acessorio como son cosas q̃ toma cada vno por su volũtad sin nĩgua obligacion/ deueis dexar q̃ cada vno haga lo q̃ mas le agradare: pero aun con todo esto/ siempre deueis
74v procurar q̃ las orones dlos q̃ dotrinaredes/ sea muy discretas: y que en ellas no pide[12] a dios/ sino solamente aquello/ que es para gloria suya y para salud de sus animas/ y q̃ esto no siempre lo pide[13] con esta oracion/ o con aquella/ sino con las palabras/ q̃ su coraçon conforme a su necessidad/ les ensenare porq̃ aueis de saber q̃ el ardiente desseo del anima/ hiere las orejas de dios/ q̃ no el estruendo/ ni la muchedumbre dlas palabras.

AN. Luego segun esso/ no querriades vos q̃ rezassemos en libros no siẽdo obligados ni encuetas.

AR. No digo yo tal/ sino q̃ reze en ellos el q̃ quisiere mucho en buen hora/ mas por dezir os verdad/ ni ternia por malo/ al q̃ no rezasse en libro no siẽdo obligado ni en cuẽtas/ si viesse q̃ biuia bien: ni por bueno al q̃ rezasse mucho enlo vno y en lo otro/ sino le uiesse otra cosa mas q̃ fuesse señal de christiano. Esto digo porq̃ conozco muchos/ q̃ si los veys enla yglesia con sus libros/ y sus cuentas/ paresceros ha q̃ son vnos Hieronimos/ y salidos de alli/ y aun alli en acabãdo el numero de sus Pater nostres/ y Psalmos/ traen tan ligera la lengua en murmurar de sus proximos/ y en dezir mentiras/ ruyndades/ y vellaquerias/ que es
75r grandissima lastima.

EU. Esso deue lo causar/ que como tienen vsada la lengua a dar priessa a los psalmos/ no pueden tenerla quando hablan en estotras cosas.

AR. Sea lo que fuere/ q̃ al fin ellos se hallarã burlados por bien q̃ negocien/ sino dexan sus ruynes costumbres/ consuelo me con que ay vna vida alegre y eterna pa los buenos/ y vna muerte triste/ y sin fin pa los malos.

---

[12] Plural subjunctive, pidan.

[13] pidan

83v AR. . . . .Quanto ala deuocio q̃ dezis teneis cõ nuestra señora: yo lo tẽgo por muy bueno: y eneste caso no os querria dar la ventaja: pero no querria que hiziessedes como muchos q̃ yo conozco hazẽ/ que por vna parte se tienen y precian de deuotos de nuestra señora: y por otra son mortales enemigos de nuestra señora.

AN. Como es esso?

AR. Yo os lo dire: conozco yo muchas personas que andan embueltas en mil cuentos de vicios: y ni por pensamiento muestran en si otra señal de christianos: sino dezir que son deuotos de nuestra señora: y cõ la cofiança q̃ ponen enesta su deuocio piensan que les es licito hazer las vellaquerias q̃ hazen: y por esto suelo yo dezir muchas vezes q̃ los q̃ peor sienten de nra señora son los q̃ tiene estas deuociones deste arte: porq̃ los q̃ siente bie de nra
84r señora y le son verdadermanete deuotos pcuran en qnto pueden imitar la humildad de nra señora. su castidad, su charidad/ y su honestidad. pues cõ esto se horra ella mas: q̃ cõ hazerle dezir muchas missas/ ni rezarle muchas oraciones ni ayunarle muchos dias/ puesto q̃ esto todo es bueno. donosa boueria es q̃ siendo yo vicioso me tẽga por deuoto de nuestra señora: porq̃ le rezo no se q̃ orones. y le ayuno no se q̃ dias: ala fe/ es esta vna burleria y abominacion la mayor del mũdo.

AN. Segũ esso q̃ dezis no creo q̃ aueis visto/ vn libro delos milagros que nra señora ha hecho: por personas q̃ tenia cõella la misma manera de duocio/ q̃ aueis rephedido?

AR. Si he visto. y he leido buena pte del: y q̃ndo piẽso enla ocasio q̃ aql librillo da a algũos necios pa q̃ sea viciosos no puedo dezir sino q̃ mal viaje haga quiẽ le escriuio/ y el pmero q̃ lo imprimio.

AN. Porq̃ dezis esso?

AR. Porq̃ vna cosa tan cõtraria ala dotrina euangelica/ no se auia de pmitir entre xpianos.

AN. En q̃ hallais vos q̃ es cõtraria ala dotria euãgelica?

AR. Yo os lo dire sant pablo dize allẽde/ d otras muchas cosas a
84v este proposito q̃ en otras partes los euangelistas/ y tambiẽ el
dizẽ/ q̃ ni el luxurioso/ ni el auariento/ ni el q̃ esta embuelto en
pecados entrara enel reyno d dios: y vuestro librico cuenta de
muchos q̃ tenia esto todo q̃ el apostol dize: y otras muchas cosas
mas y mas feas: y que quando muria algunos dellos: porq̃ se hallo
que rezaua cada dia el aue maria/ se fue al cielo. vistes mas
donosa manera de deuocion?

TRAINING OF CHILDREN

85v AR. A ppoſito q̃ embeuiſſen en sus ternezicos aĩos/ estas cosas
92v sagradas/ q̃ en ſi son santas y buenas/ y nos trae ẽn conoscimieto de dios/ pa q̃ el aĩo dl niño fundado cõ tales cimietos/ no pudiesse ligeramẽte caer d su inocecia/ enamorado se en cierta mana dla ley de dios/ por lo q̃ dl oyesse dzir/ y aborreciesse ansi mesmo la tirania dl demonio/ como mala peruersa y perniciosa. sacaria tabien otro puecho/ y es/ q̃ocupados en estas cosas/ tomaria sabor enellas: y assi tomado este exercicio/ dxaria el
93r q̃ agora muchos tiene en no se q̃ libros: vnos q̃ los afficiona a no ser xpianos si no mudanos vanos y viciosos/ y otros/ q̃ les afficiona a vna xpiandad mas cerimoniatica q̃ verdadera . . .

86r AR. . . . el pricipal y mas cõtinuo exercicio dl xpiano/ deue ser en la ley de dios q̃ se cõtiene en la sagrada escritura/ porq̃ sola esta es la q̃ nos dclara la volũtad d dios/ y sola esta sin faltar vna letra/ es escrita por el spu sãto/ y a sola esta sobre todas q̃ntas escrituras ay enl mudo/ somos obligados a creer todas las cosas q̃ nos dixere/ sin faltar niguna . . .

---

[14]Should be aueis.

[15]Should be imperfect, enseñaua.

GOOD TEACHERS NEEDED

92v AN. Y quien fue el q̃ os instruyo al principio en ello/ porque no puedo creer sino q̃ milagrosamente os ha enseñado dios/ pues ay muchos Theologos y grandes letrados q̃ no sabria hablar en lo q̃ vos aueys hablado ta puramẽte ni tan al pposito?

AR. Huelgo me mucho q̃ me ayays[14] pguntado esso por q̃ yo dessaua q̃ lo supiessedes. Aueys d saber q̃ mi padre tenia esta costũbre q̃ cada mañana en leuãtadose/ jũtaua a sus hijos/ y aũ a alg̃os
93r de su casa en vna sala: y alli muy pticularmẽte/ les enseña[15] casi todas estas cosas que yo os he dicho: y despues que nos las auia dicho/ nos las pgũtaua a nosotros casi de la misma manera/ q̃ vosotros me las aueis pregũtado a mi porque dezia el/ que assi como el plado es obligado a instruir enla dotrina christiana/ alos de su obispado: y el cura alos de su yglesia: assi tambiẽ era el obligado/ a instruir a sus hijos/ y alos d su casa: specialmente siendo letrado/ y no auiendo aprendido letras para ganar de comer cõ ellas/ sino para edificaciõ de su anima/ y de las delos de su casa.

AN. O buena vida le de dios a tal hõbre: pluguiesse a dios/ que todos los obispos/ e los curas/ hiziessemos essa cõsideraciõ/ y tuuiessemos tan santo exercicio.

AR. Pues veis aqui como yo oya estas cosas muchos dias: y tambien las dezia a mis hermanos: y como me parescian bien/ e las aprendia/ no solamẽte para saberlas/ sino tambien para obrarlas/ quedaronseme como veis enla memoria. Allẽde desto tenia mi padre en su casa vn maestro para que amostrasse a leer y escreuir a mi y a mis herm-
93v anos: el q̃al assi mesmo era amigo de toda cosa buena/ y xpiana: y cõ la cõtinua comunicaciõ/ y cõuersaciõ dste/ hallo q̃ gane mucho: y q̃ apndi hartas cosas d las q̃ aq os he dicho.

EU. Por cierto es vdad q̃ en forma he cobrado grãdissima aficiõ a vr̃o padre/ dios le d por ello el galardõ q: si creo selo aura dado. pluuiesse a dios q̃ vuiesse muchos tales como el/ no oy/ en mi vida cosa mejor/ sobre la cabeça se deuria poner tal psona como essa: digo os q̃ soys harto obligado a vr̃o padre/ y mas q̃ si os dexara diez cuẽtos de rẽta.

---

[14] Should be aueis.

[15] Should be imperfect, enseñaua.

AR. Esso conozco yo muy bie/ bẽdito sea dios por ello/ y mucho mas/ qndo veo alguos padres q no cura de hazer a sus hijos hobres de bie/ porq piesan/ q harto haze en dexarles bie de comer. no vi en mi vida mayor crueldad/ o por mejor dezir mayor impiedad . . .

94v EU. Bienauenturado vos señor q tal padre tuuistes/ y bienauẽturado el que tuuo hijo q tambien se supiesse aprouechar delo que el se ensenaua: ciertamẽte si enel mundo vuiesse algunos tales como vuestro padre/ seria menester que nosotros nos fuessemos alas yndias/ pues haziendo ellos lo que nosotros deuiamos hazer/ no aurie porque nos diessen sus haziendas: y si assi mesmo vuiesse muchos maestros tales como el vuestro/ no se coromperian los animos delos niños tan tẽprano como veemos que se corrõpen por falta de los maestros que los tienen a cargo: y si tales perlados vuiesse como el que aueis nobrado/ que assi procurassen el bien de sus subditos y criados/ ciertamente aurie otra honestidad/ bodad virtud/ y christiadad que al presente ay: pero por nros pecados los padres ruynes/ no curan q sus hijos sean buenos: y los maestros viciosos/ no puede. ensenar a sus discipulos sino vicios: y delos perlados ambiciosos y auarientos: no pueden los subditos aprender sino ambicio y auaricia . . .

WHAT TO READ

96r AN. Sabeis señor q̃ me pece q̃ no dzis palabra q̃ no sea muy al ppositō: y pues q̃ assi es dzidnos por vn̄a vida en q̃ libros de romãce teneys por bueno q̃ made a mis feligreses q̃ lean.

AR. Enel libro de las eptas y euangelios y sermones del año: aũ que pa deziros verdad ni los sermones me contenta/ ni aũ la traslacion delo demas esta como deuia estar. y tãbien enlos cartuxanos donde ay mucha dotrina de santos dotores. y enl enquiridion de Erasmo: y en algũas cositas del mismo que ay en romance: assi como la declaracion del Pater noster y vn sermocico del niño jesus: y algunos colloquitos: tambiẽ en el contentus mundi que dizen de Gerson: y enlas epistolas de sant Hieronimo: y tambien enlos morales de sant Gregorio que agora se han imprimido en Romance: y assi mismo en algunas cositas que ay de sant Augustin.

---

16 Clearly a subjunctive, sepings.

EDUCATION AMONG THE CLERGY

97r AN. Por mi fe si tẽga: y aũ q̃ nũca fuy afficionado a estos estudios/ yo lo sere de oy mas.

AR. Veamos porq̃ no aueis sido aficionado al estudio?

AN. Yo os dire la verdad suelẽ dezir: que no alaba mas vno delo q̃ alcança: y como yo no alcançaua del estudio sino muy poco o casi nada/ no podia ser afficionado a el.

EU. Vos aueis respõdido muy bien y muy a proposito: y hareis bien en aplicaros de aqui adelante a alguna manera destudio: assi para lo que cõuiene a vos/ como para lo q̃ cõuiene a vuestros feligreses: que pues os dan sus haziẽdas mucha razon es que vos les deis dotrina/
97v yno sela podeis dar sino la sabeis paravos/ y no la podeis saber bien/ sino con trabajo y estudio.

AR. Dize os muy gran verdad/ no dexeys de hazer lo assi.

AN. Digo que me plazẽ: po como quereys que vn hõbre como yo q̃ passa ya d cinqueta anos empieça[16] a estudiar grammatica?

AR. Como/ q̃ no sabeis latin ninguno?

AN. Un poquito aprendi siendo rapaz/ pero luego se me oluido.

AR. Pues como os ordenaron de missa?

AN. Yo os lo dire/ siendo mancebete me meti frayle: y como tenia buena boz/ en siendo de edad/ me hizieron ordenar de missa/ aun que no sabia latin/ ni aun apenas leer/ porque como sabeis/ alos frayles/ no los examina el obispo/ sino sus guardianes: y assi passe yo entre otros: dspues/ por no se q̃ dsco̅cierto/ dxe el habito/ y tãbiẽ por q̃ no me hallaua biẽ alli.

AR. Yo os certifico q̃ essa es vna cosa muy rezia/ q̃ se de ordẽ sacra/ a hõbre q̃ no sepa eteder lo q̃ lee/ puesto caso q̃ sea frayle: como si no tuuiessen tãbien ellos necessidad de saber como los demas. Al demenos en mi Arçobispado (siẽdo yo biuo) no se ordenara ninguo/ sea qen se pagare/ sin que yo mismo lo examine/ y
98r muy bien examinado/ y no solamente le examinare delo que sabe/ pero antes que lo ordene/ hare hazer pesquisa y muy d veras sobre el/ para ver como biue y ha biuido/ algunos dias antes/ si hallare que su vida ha sido/ y es muy coforme ala religiõ christiana: y que

---

[16] Clearly subjunctive, empiece.

junto con esto/ es persona de letras y abilidad/ dar le he ordenes/ y sino por qualquiera cosa destas que le falte: aũ que me importune todo el mundo no le ordenare ni aun de grados.

EU. O buena vida os d dios/ y q̃n a mi plazer lo dezis: plega a dios q̃ biuais muchos años: pa q̃ reformeis esto y otras muchas cosas/ en q̃ ay tãta pdicio q̃ es la mayor lastima del mũdo/ yos pmeto/ q̃ auria otra mana d Xpiadid q̃ ay/ si todos los plados hiziesse dsta mañera:[17] po como no se mira nada dlo q̃ vos dzis eñl q̃ se viene a ordenar/ no haze sino hazer clerigos y la gẽte ha lo ya tomado por grajeria/ y como crecen los clerigos/ y tambien los frayles/ cresce el desconcierto y mal biuir dellos: y los legos toman de alli occasion de ser ruynes/ y assi va todo perdido: . . .

[17] Should be either mañana, or manera.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY MATERIALS

(a) Manuscript

1. Canónigo Diego de Valdés. Diálogo de su hermano Alonso, AHN, Madrid, Inquisición, Legajo 4520, num. 2 provisional.

   Censure by the Inquisition of Murcia of Diego de Valdés, brother of Juan and Alfonso, who had both the Lactancio and the Doctrina Christiana in his possession. For a description of this document see pp. 277-8 of Paz y Melia's "Expedientes" (Item 21) and pp. 13-15 of his Papeles de Inquisición (Item 22).

2. Letters of Diego Gracián de Alderete.

   These letters, 87 in all, are in the library of the Duke of Alva in the Palace of Liria, Madrid. Six are written to Alfonso de Valdés, four to Juan de Valdés, five to Francisco de Vergara, two to Erasmus, one to Juan de Vergara and one to Alonso Manrique. The letters are in very poor condition and partially destroyed by fire. For a description see Paz y Melia, "Otro erasmista," p. 625, note 1 (Item 90). The present writer did not see these letters.

3. Proceso contra Pedro de Alcaraz, vezino de Guadalajara, AHN, Madrid, Inquisición de Toledo, Legajo 106, num. 28.

   Has useful data on Juan's service in the household of the Marqués de Villena and on the iluminist Ruiz de Alcaraz who preached to the household of the Marqués de Villena during Juan's residence there. Citations from this proceso in the present work are taken from the article by Serrano y Sanz, "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz" (Item 99).

4. Proceso de Juan de Vergara, AHN, Madrid, Inquisición de Toledo, Legajo 223, num. 42.

   Of great value for any study of Erasmism in Spain. Also of considerable value for Valdés as it is our only source of information on the examining commission at Alcala as well as for our definite knowledge of the existence of a proceso against Valdés. A helpful summary can be found in Serrano y Sanz, "Juan de Vergara" (Item 98), although for use on Valdés the original is essential.

5. Proceso de María de Cazalla, AHN, Madrid, Inquisición de Toledo, Legajo 110, num. 21.

   See especially fols. 33-4 for data on Juan de Valdés. This proceso is analyzed in Melgares Marín, Procedimientos (Item 81).

6. Varios, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Caja 50, núm. 7.

   Fragment (4 fols.) of a law suit involving descendants of Valdés. Mentions the renunciation in 1521 by Juan and Alfonso of the regiduría of Cuenca. Credit for its discovery goes to Amalio Huarte, who describes this document in Item 72, and gives a reference number which has since been changed to the above.

(b) Printed Sources

7. Anglerius Martyr, Petrus, Opus epistolarum, Alcala, 1530.

   Letters 620 and 622 are useful for the early Inquisition period. Letter 689 mentions Juan's father as the regidor of Cuenca.

8. Boehmer, Edward, "Alfonsi Valdesii litterae XL ineditae," in Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo, 2 vols., Madrid, 1899, I, 385-412.

   P. 400, for a letter of Alfonso de Valdés to Juan Dantisco (Feb. 14, 1529) which indicates that Juan was in Toledo with Alfonso at that time.

9. Boehmer, Edward, "Una lettera di Giovanni Valdés," in Rivista Cristiana (Florence), X (1882), 93-96.

A letter of Juan to Juan Dantisco (Jan. 12, 1533) on the subject of the death of Alfonso. This letter convinced Boehmer that Juan and Alfonso were twins and led to his revised biographical sketch which appeared the following year in London, under the title Lives of the Twin Brothers (Item 46). The letter is reprinted in J. T. Betts' introduction to Boehmer's work (pp. X-XIV), with an English translation. Until recently this letter had the only known extant autograph of Juan. In 1938 however, Croce published in an appendix to his edition of the Alfabeto Cristiano (Item 64) another autographed letter of Valdés, written March 25, 1540, to Cobos, Comendador Mayor of León. The latter, from the Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 1032, fol. 19, appears on pp. 157-164 of Croce's edition.

10. Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, 112 vols., Madrid, 1842-1895.

Two letters of the Marqués de Villena to Charles V appear in I, 65-6. Six letters of Philip I to the Marqués are in VIII, 268, 279, 290, 316, 377. One letter of Ferdinand and Isabella to the Marqués appears in VIII, 269.

11. Colmeiro, Manuel, Cortes de los antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla, 2 vols., Madrid, 1883-1884.

Useful information on Charles and the Cortes' requests for reform of the Inquisition at Valladolid (1518), Coruña (1520) and Toledo (1525). The author was professor of constitutional history at the University of Madrid.

12. Enzinas, Francisco de, Mémoires, 2 vols., Brussels, 1862-1863.

Latin text, with French translation on opposite pages, ed. by Ch. Al. Campan. See especially II, 154-169 for comments by Enzinas on Juan and Alfonso and Pedro de Lerma (Enzinas was a contemporary of all three). A brief unreliable biographical sketch of Juan's Italian career appears in II, 451-462.

13. Erasmus, Colloquia, ed. C. Schrevelio, Rotterdam, 1664.

14. _____, Opus Epistolarum, ed. Percy S. Allen and H. M. Allen, 11 vols., Oxford, 1906-1947.

15. Fontana, Bartolommeo, Renata di Francia, Duchessa di Ferrara, 3 vols., Rome 1889-1899.

    I, 456-457, a brief of Clement VII in favor of Alfonso and his family, mentioning María de Valdés as well as the father, brothers and brother-in-law of Juan and Alfonso.

16. Gayangos, Pascual and Fuente, Vicente de la, Cartas del cardenal don fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, dirigidas a don Diego López de Ayala, Madrid, 1877.

    Contains letter of Ximénez to Charles in defense of the Inquisition (1517).

17. Gómez de Castro, Álvaro, De rebus gestis à Francisco Ximenio Cisnerio Archiepiscopo Toletano, Compluti [Alcalá], 1569.

    A main source for information about the faculty of the University of Alcalá in Valdés' day. The author was a professor at Alcalá. For a lengthy description of this work see Antonio de la Torre, "La Univ. de Alcalá" (Item 102), XX, 413, n. 1.

18. Llorente, Juan Antonio, Memoria histórica sobre qual ha sido la opinión nacional de España acerca del tribunal de la Inquisición, Madrid, 1812.

    The author's hatred for the Inquisition is well known, as evidenced particularly by his more famous Historia crítica de la Inquisición, 4 vols., Barcelona, 1835-1836. The above work, despite its editorializing, is useful for its reproduction of such documents as the petitions of complaint to Charles in 1518-19 about the Inquisition and for Charles' proposed plan of reform of that institution.

19. Medina, Pedro de, Libro de grandezas y cosas memorables de España, Alcalá, 1548.

    See fol. 89 for a good description of the University of Alcalá as it was in the days of Juan de Valdés. This book has recently been made more readily available in Ángel González Palencia's edition of Obras de Pedro de Medina, Madrid, 1944.

20. Montesinos, José F., ed., Cartas inéditas de Juan de Valdés al Cardenal Gonzaga, Madrid, 1931.

Especially useful for data on Juan's Italian career. Montesinos also has edited the Diálogo de la lengua (Items 29, 88).

21. Paz y Melia, Antonio, "Expedientes de Inquisición conservados en la Biblioteca Nacional," in Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, XVII (1907), 276-286.

See pp. 277-8 for a summary of the censure of Diego de Valdés (Item 1).

22. _____, Papeles de Inquisición. Catálogo y extractos, 2d ed. by Ramón Paz, Madrid, 1947.

See pp. 13-15 for a summary and partial quotation of the censure of Diego de Valdés (Item 1).

23. _____ and Serrano y Sanz, Manuel, "Actas originales de las congregaciones celebradas en Valladolid en 1527 para examinar las doctrinas de Erasmo," in Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, VI (1902), 60-73.

Extracts from the proceedings against Erasmus at Valladolid in 1527.

24. Pocock, Nicholas, ed., Records of the Reformation, 2 vols., Oxford, 1870.

II, 318-19, letter of Cranmer to Henry VIII in 1532 commenting on Alfonso's recent death and his high standing with the Emperor.

25. Porreño, Baltasar, Dos tratados históricos tocantes al Cardenal Ximénez de Cisneros, Madrid, 1918.

Two treatises on the great cardinal's life and deeds by a late 16th-early 17th century licenciado from Cuenca, resurrected and published by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles. Useful for its comments on Alcalá University and on some of Valdés' contemporaries there.

26. Sepulveda, Joannes Genesius, Opera, 4 vols., Madrid, 1780.

Four letters to Alfonso and one to Juan (all in 1531). Our only source for the dating of Juan's visit to Rome in 1531.

27. Serassi, Pier Antonio, ed., Lettere del conte Baldessar Castiglione, 2 vols., in 1, Padua, 1769-1771.

II, 171-174, ltr. of Alfonso to Castiglione in defense of his Lactancio; 175-202, Castiglione's reply to Valdés. These two letters also appear in Usoz' edition of the Diálogo de la lengua (pp. 71ff.) in vol. XXI of the Reformistas antiguos espanoles (Item 105).

28. Valdés, Juan de, Dialogo de Doctrina Christiana nueuamente compuesto por vn Religioso, Alcalá, 1529. Reproduced in facsimile from a copy in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon, with introduction and notes by Marcel Bataillon, Coimbra, 1925.

This is the only edition of the Doctrina Christiana, except for an edition by Teodoro Fliedner, published by the Librería Nacional y extranjera, Madrid, 1929. See Item 39.

29. _____, Diálogo de la lengua, ed. by José A. Montesinos, Madrid, 1928.

Useful for hints by Valdés on his origin and early years. See Item 88.

30. Vives, Juan Luis, Obras completas, ed. Lorenzo Riber, 2 vols., Madrid, 1947-1948.

See especially II, where Vives comments in his letters to Erasmus on the Inquisition's activities in Spain against the followers of the Dutch humanist.

31. Zarco Cuevas, Julián, "Testamentos de Alonso y Diego de Valdes," in Boletín de la Real Academica Española, XIV (1927), 679-685.

Useful for data on the Valdés family. Both wills are reproduced from the original.

II. SECONDARY REFERENCES

32. Alonso, Dámaso, "El crepúsculo de Erasmo," in Revista de Occidente, XXXVIII (1932), 31-53.

A brief summary type article inspired by Allen's edition of Erasmus' letters (Item 14), Americo Castro's "Erasmo en tiempo de Cervantes" (Rev. Fil. Esp., XVIII) and by Alonso's own edition of the Enquiridion (Item 33). See especially pp. 45-53 for Erasmus in Spain.

33. Alonso, Dámaso, ed., Erasmo. El Enquiridión o Manual del Caballero Christiano, Madrid, 1932.

Especially valuable for its prologue by Marcel Bataillon, in which he discusses the general background of Erasmus and his Spanish following.

34. Antonio, Nicolas, Bibliotheca Hispana nova, sive, Hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno M.D. ad MDCLXXXIV floruere notitia, 2 vols., Madrid, 1783-1788.

First edition Rome, 1672, includes publications from 1500 to 1672. Second edition (above), edited by T. A. Sánchez, J. A. Pellicer and R. Casalbon, includes publications from 1500 to 1684.
See I, p. 790 on Juan de Valdés: Antonio calls him a jurisconsult and a Lutheran heretic.

35. Baruzi, Jean, "Un moment de la lutte contre le protestantisme et l'illuminisme en Espagne au XVI^e siècle," in Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses, VII (1927), 541-553.

Principally a discussion of the censure by Melchior Cano of the Comentarios of Bartolomé de Carranza. The article begins with a survey of the budding religious Erasmian reform in Spain in the sixteenth century, of which Juan de Valdés was a part.

36. _____, Saint Jean de la Croix et le probleme de l'expérience mystique, Paris, 1924.

Points out (pp. 144-5; 253-4) that a study of the iluminists and Valdesian piety is vital to an understanding of orthodox mysticism.

37. Bataillon, Marçel, "Alonso de Valdés, auteur du Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón," in Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1925, I, 403-415.

Demonstrates convincingly that Alfonso and not Juan was the author of the Mercurio y Carón. Further evidence is supplied by Montesinos, "Algunas notas" (Item 87).

38. _____, Érasme et l'Espagne. Recherches sur l'Histoire spirituelle du XVI^e siècle, Paris, 1937.

By far the best work on the Erasmian movement in Spain. Represents years of patient, careful scholarship and is essential to any understanding of the whole period. Excellent bibliography. For a summary and criticism by a dissatisfied Dominican see Beltrán de Heredia, "Erasmo y España" (Item 42).

39. Bataillon, Marcel, ed., Juan de Valdés. Diálogo de Doctrina Christina, Coimbra, 1925.

Introduction, pp. 15-202 on Juan and Erasmism in Spain. An informative, careful study of the Doctrina Christiana. Bataillon is the only author who has made any extended effort to reconstruct the Spanish career of Juan de Valdés. He found the Doctrina Christiana, Valdés' only Spanish work, after years of search all over the Iberian peninsula, finally unearthing a copy in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon. For a summary and review of this work see A. Renaudet, "Érasme et Juan de Valdés, d'apres une publication récente," in Bulletin Hispanique, XXIX (1927), 293-298.

40. Beltrán de Heredia, Vicente, "Catedráticos de Sagrada Escritura en la Universidad de Alcalá durante el siglo XVI," in Ciencia Tomista, XVIII (1918), 140-155.

Has some data on a few of the commission members of Alcalá in 1529.

41. _____, "La enseñanza de Santo Tomás en la Universidad de Alcalá," in Ciencia Tomista, XIII (1916), 245-270, 392-418; XIV (1916), 267-297.

Discusses the founding of the University of Alcalá and some of the early professors of theology, drawing heavily from Gómez de Castro, De rebus gestis (Item 17).

42. _____, "Erasmo y España. A propósito de un libro reciente," in Ciencia Tomista, LVII (1938), 544-582.

See pp. 557-569 for a summary of Bataillon's Érasme (Item 38). Pp. 569-582 are devoted to a criticism of the book, which the author considers too lenient toward Erasmus. The author, a Dominican friar, would put Spain's Erasmists in the same class with iluminists and Lutherans.

43. Beneyto Pérez, Juan, Ginés de Sepúlveda, humanista y soldado, Madrid, 1944.

A short (163 pp.) sketch on Sepúlveda, whom Juan de Valdés met in Rome.

44. Boehmer, Edward, Bibliotheca Wiffeniana. Spanish Reformers of of Two Centuries from 1520, 3 vols., Strassbourg and London, 1874-1904.

Boehmer dedicated much of his life to Valdés, as did Wiffen, whose material Boehmer used for the above work. This work treats of the Valdés brothers in I, 65-130, with extensive bibliographical data, including a list of the works of both brothers in I, 82-130 and an additional bibliography in the preface to II, pp. V-VIII. Boehmer makes the same mistake as did every other authority of the 19th century, except Stern (Item 101), by attributing the Mercurio y Carón to Juan and deducing that Juan had to flee Spain because of this work. In addition to his works listed here, Boehmer also published a lengthy series of extracts of Valdés' writings in the Revista Cristiana of Madrid, issues of 1885 through 1887.

45. _____, Francisca Hernández und Frai Francisco Ortiz, Leipzig, 1865.

Pp. 17ff. give data on Alcaraz, Isabel de la Cruz, Bedoya, Pastrana, Barreda and other iluminists, copied from the procesos against Francisca and Ortiz. Of the documents used in this book, only parts now remain in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid.

46. _____, Lives of the Twin Brothers, Juan and Alfonso de Valdés. London, 1883.

This short (15 pp.) biographical sketch is appended to John T. Betts' English translation of Juan de Valdés' Commentary upon Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans. This sketch is a revision of an earlier one which appeared under the title Cenni biografici sui fratelli Giovanni e Alfonso di Valdesso, appended to Boehmer's edition of Valdés' Le cento e dieci divine considerazioni, Halle de Sajonia, 1860.

47. Boehmer, Julius, "Juan de Valdés und sein Diálogo," in Zeitschrifte für Kirchengeschichte, XLIX (1930), 45-48.

A short critique of the Doctrina Christiana.

48. Bonet, Alberto, La filosofía de la libertad en las controversias teológicas del siglo XVI y primera mitad del XVII, Barcelona, 1932.

Chiefly valuable for its comments on Luther's debt to medieval Augustinianism.

49. Bonet-Maury, Amy Gaston, Early Sources of English Unitarian Christianity, rev. ed., trans. by E. P. Hall, London, 1884.

See esp. p. 142 for discussion of Valdés as a reformer who never left the Church.

50. Bonilla y San Martín, Adolfo, "Erasmo en España (episodio de la historia del Renacimiento)," in Revue Hispanique, XVII (1907), 379-548.

By the author of the monumental work on Luis Vives. Good for a general background of the two Renaissance streams (from Italy and Erasmus) into Spain, and for the influence of Erasmus on Spanish intellectuals, including the Valdés brothers.

51. Boverio, Zaccaria, Annalium seu sacrarum historiarum ordinis minorum S. Francisci qui Capucini nuncupantur, 2 vols., Lugduni, 1632.

I, 289, refers to Juan as a "jurisperito" and speaks of his friendship in Italy with Bernardino Ochino.

52. Brown, George Kenneth, Italy and the Reformation to 1550, Oxford, 1933.

Pp. 223-235 on "The Valdesian Movement", has the usual misinformation on Juan's Spanish career, indicating that the author did not use any of the recent sources and especially the works of Marcel Bataillon.

53. Caballero, Fermín, Alonso y Juan de Valdés, Madrid, 1875.

Probably the best biography of Valdés in the nineteenth century. Quotes authorities extensively and reproduces letters and other documents in the original language in a long appendix.
Carrasco, on p. 7 of Alfonso et Juan (Item 56) expresses his disapproval of the book on the ground that Caballero follows Usoz and Boehmer too closely without checking on their information, and also on the ground that Caballero's main intention seems to be to defend the Valdés brothers against the charge of heresy.
See pp. 17-31 for a bibliography of books on Valdés, and pp. 258-285 for a list of works by the Valdés brothers.
As usual, the Mercurio y Carón is mistakenly attributed to Juan.

54. Cantimori, Delio, Eretici italiani del cinquecento. Ricerche storiche, Florence, 1939.

Author sees many of the ideas of Servetus in Juan de Valdés (pp. 45-9). Also (pp. 126-7) he sees in the Valdés group at Naples analogies to the Schwenkfelders in their emphasis on the transcendental concept of faith and rebirth in Christ and in the tendency to form small groups of people who shared their religious experiences in common.

55. Cantú, Cesare, Gli Eretici d'Italia. Discorsi storici, 3 vols., Turin, 1865-1866.

Staunchly anti-heretic. Juan is a "noble Spaniard but a perfidious heretic." I, Ch. XIX, "Il Valdes", pp. 377-386. Confuses Juan with Alfonso as author of the Lactancio and the dispute with Castiglione over it.
For his information on Juan the author relies on Pietro Antonio Caracciolo's De Vita Pauli Quarti of 1612.

56. Carrasco, Manuel, Alfonso et Juan de Valdés. Leur vie et leurs écrits religieux. Étude historique, Geneva, 1880.

A short (136 pp.) study, of which the major portion is devoted to Juan. A scholarly, objective study by a Catholic author who refuses to classify Valdés as a heretic. Most of the author's ideas on Juan's religion are based on the Mercurio y Carón of Alfonso.

57. Castro, Américo, "Lo hispánico y el erasmismo," in Revista de Filología Hispánica, II (1940), 1-34; IV (1942), 1-66.

Good for background material on Erasmism in Spain.

58. Castro y Rossi, Adolfo de, Historia de los Protestantes y de su persecución por Felipe II, Cádiz, 1851.

See pp. 99-105, "Juan de Valdés." Classifies Valdés as a Lutheran. In an appendix, pp. 429-32, he demonstrates that Juan and Alfonso were brothers, a fact now universally accepted. An English translation was published the same year in London and Edinburgh.

59. Cejador y Frauca, Julio, Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana (época de Carlos V), Madrid, 1915.

By a Catholic author who disagrees with Menéndez y Pelayo on the nature of Erasmism in Spain. Cejador interprets Erasmism as characteristically Spanish.

60. Christ, E., Héroes españoles de la fe. Cuadros de la reforma, Madrid, 1893.

Another in a series of pro-Protestant works of the latter 19th century. Evangelistic in tone, calls Juan de Valdés the "morning star of the Spanish Reformation" (p. 72). Follows Usoz, Llorente, Stern, Castro, M'Crie, Boehmer. Chap. V, "Juan de Valdés," pp. 69-83. Generally unreliable. Says, for example, that Juan, at age 17, entered Alcalá University in 1507.

61. Church, Frederic Corss, The Italian Reformers 1534-1564, New York, 1932.

Scholarly, uses original sources. See pp. 50-1 for comments on Valdés' religious leanings. Useful primarily for his Italian career.

62. Cione, Edmondo, Juan de Valdés. La sua vita e il suo pensiero, Bari, 1938.

Biographical sketch of Valdés in Spain and Italy, with an analysis of Valdesian doctrine and piety. Also discusses the general characteristics of Erasmism and mysticism in Spain the days of Charles V. An excellent bibliography of works on and by Juan de Valdés appears on pp. 117-183.

63. Cotarelo y Mori, Emilio, "¿Quién fué el autor del 'Diálogo de la Lengua?'" in Boletín de la Real Academia Española, VI (1919), 473-523, 671-698; VII (1920), 10-46, 158-197, 269-289.

See VII, pp. 179-197 for a short, but careful biography of Juan, almost all of it dealing with his life in Spain. This particular series of articles was the result of a feud between Cotarelo and the Augustinian friar Padre L. Miguélez as to the authorship of the Diál. de la lengua. Miguélez, in a series of articles in La Ciudad de Dios in 1918-1919, attempted to prove that the dialogue was written by Juan López de Velasco, cosmographer of Philip II. Cotarelo's arguments in favor of Juan de Valdés as author have since been corroborated and are now generally accepted.

64. Croce, Benedetto, ed., Giovanni di Valdés. Alfabeto Cristiano, Dialogo con Giulia Gonzaga, Bari, 1938.

This slender volume (178 pp.) is especially useful for its introduction (pp. V-XXVIII) and its appendix, which includes hitherto unpublished letters with valuable data on Valdés' will.
Parts of the introduction first appeared in Croce's article "Un Dialogo tra Giulia Gonzaga e Giovanni di Valdés," in La Critica (Naples and Bari), XXXV (1937), 385-394.
Croce was early interested in Valdés and wrote a brief article on Juan's short career as archivist at Naples: "Una data importante nella vita di Juan de Valdés," in Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane (Naples), XXVIII (1903), 151-153. He also devotes a few brief pages to Juan in his La Spagna nella vita italiana durante la Rinascenza, Bari, 1917 and in his Un angolo di Napoli, Bari, 1912.
A useful summary and review of the above work can be found in Gatti, Juan Francisco, "Sobre Juan de Valdés," in Nosotros, IX (1939), 204-212.

65. Droin, Moïse, Histoire de la Réformation en Espagne, 2 vols., Paris, 1880.

See especially II, 62-102 on the Valdés brothers.
Generally unreliable, confusing Juan and Alfonso.
Deals largely with Juan's Italian career.

66. Fita, Fidel, "Los tres procesos de S. Ignacio de Loyola en Alcalá de Henares," in Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia, XXXIII (1898), 422-461.

67. Foronda y Aguilera, Manuel de, Estancias y viajes del emperador Carlos V, Madrid, 1914.

A massive volume covering the movements of the Emperor from his birth in 1500 to his death in 1558. Useful for tracing the whereabouts of Alfonso de Valdés and possibly of Juan.

68. García López, Juan, Ensayo de una tipografía complutense, Madrid, 1889.

Sketches of printers of Alcalá, including Valdés' friend Miguel de Eguía (p. 613).

69. Getino, Luis G. Alonso, El maestro Francisco de Vitoria y el renacimiento filosofico y teológico del siglo XVI, Madrid, 1930.

Useful for general background, although Valdés is given very little attention. First edition appeared in Madrid in 1914.

70. Groult, Pierre, Les mystiques des Pays Bas et la littérature espagnole du XVI^e siècle, Louvain, 1927.

Although the author has not studied Juan de Valdés (p. 163: "Je n'ai point étudié Valdés) he denies any relationship between Flemish mysticism and what he calls Valdesian iluminism.

71. Heep, J., Juan de Valdés, seine Religion — sein Werden -- seine Bedeuting, Leipzig, 1909.

Brief biographical sketch, pp. LXI-LXVI, following Boehmer, Wiffen, Stern, Carrasco, Caballero, et al. Refuses to classify Valdés specifically as a Protestant or Catholic (see esp. pp. 193-4). Makes out a case for the influence of Tauler on Valdés (pp. 37, 56, 58, 161, 168).

72. Huarte, Amalio, "Para la biografía de los hermanos Valdés," in Revista de Filología Española, XXI (1934), 167-168.

A brief article on the lawsuit (Item 6) over the Valdés regiduría.

73. Huizinga, Johan, Erasmus, New York and London, 1924.

Not necessarily the best of the many biographies of Erasmus. Others by Preserved Smith, Percy S. Allen, and John J. Mangan are equally useful.

74. Hyma, Albert, The Christian Renaissance: a History of the "Devotio Moderna," Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1924.

An excellent study of the influence of the Brethren of the Common Life on the intellectual currents of both the Reformation and the Counter Reformation. Extensive use of original sources hitherto unknown.

75. Lea, Henry C., A History of the Inquisition of Spain, 4 vols., New York, 1922.

Despite the charges of bias made against Lea, this still remains the most reliable of all works on the delicate subject of the Inquisition. Lea worked almost entirely from original sources and for the most part avoids editorializing such as is found in the prejudiced attacks of Llorente and the equally prejudiced apologies of Bernardino Llorca.

76. Linnhoff, Lieselotte, Spanische Protestanten und England, Emden, 1934.

Chap. I on Juan de Valdés. A very disappointing book; follows all the old 19th century sources, and doesn't even mention the recent work of Bataillon in her bibliography. In addition to repeating the errors of Caballero and others the author also makes some errors of her own: e.g. p. 14 she says Alfonso wrote the Lactancio and on p. 87 lists this as one of Juan's works.

77. Llorca, Bernardino, Die spanische Inquisition und die "Alumbrados" 1509-1667, Berlin, 1934.

Useful for the history of the iluminist movement and its repression by the Inquisition. Author goes to some lengths to counteract anti-Inquisition works of other writers. See for example his La Inquisición en España, Barcelona, 1936.

78. López Sáiz, Santiago, Consultor conquense. Guía ilustrada de la provincia de Cuenca, Cuenca, 1897.

79. Martir Rizo, Juan Pablo, Historia de la muy noble y leal ciudad de Cuenca, Madrid, 1629.

In his section on notables from Cuenca, the author discusses the origins and important members of the Valdés family, including Juan and Alfonso, although he does not mention them by name.

80. M'Crie, Thomas, History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century, London, 1829.

Treats Valdés as a hero of the Reformation. Sees resemblances between Valdés and Tauler, as well as the modern Quakers. The author also mentions Valdés in his History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy in the Sixteenth Century, Edinburgh, 1833. In both instances he relies largely on Llorente, accepting the latter's inaccuracies and also his bias. M'Crie also wrote a biography of John Knox (Edinburgh, 1811).

81. Melgares Marín, Julio, Procedimientos de la Inquisición, 2 vols., Madrid, 1888.

See II, footnote on pp. 65-84 for biographical sketch of Juan. Author also quotes extensively from the proceso of María de Cazalla, but his paleography is bad and he takes such great liberties with the text that one should always check with the original.

82. Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, 4 vols., Santander, 1947.

One of the more recent of the many editions of this work since it was first published in 1880-1882. The tone of the work, as the author states in his introduction, is completely Catholic, and he does not disguise his disapproval of any deviation from orthodoxy. See III, Chap. IV, "El protestante Juan de Valdés." While he admires Valdés' intellectual ability, Menéndez y Pelayo is saddened by his heresy. This work, like that of almost anyone who has written on the general subject of Spain, religion, and the Inquisition, should be used with caution.

83. _____, Juan Boscán. Estudio crítico, Madrid, 1908.

See this work for an interesting description of Fadrique Enríquez, Admiral of Castile, who entertained plans for evangelizing his estates along iluminist lines. The interest of the description lies in its flattery, which is an almost certain sign that the author didn't know about the Admiral's potentially unorthodox religious leanings.

84. Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino, "Juan de Valdés. El P. Rivadeneyra," in Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria, vol. VII of Obras completas, Madrid, 1941.

A comparison of Valdés' translation from Hebrew to Spanish of the Salterio with that of Juan Pérez. Author finds Valdés' version infinitely superior.

85. Meozzi, Antero, "Studi su Juan Valdés," in La Rassegna (Florence), XLVII (1939), 200-215.

A discussion of the sources of Valdés' religious ideas, followed by a summary of the conflicting opinions on whether or not Valdés was a heretic.

86. Merriman, Roger B., The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New, 4 vols., New York, 1918-1934.

Probably the most scholarly history of Spain through the sixteenth century. See III for information on Charles and his early Cortes.

87. Montesinos, José F., "Algunas notas sobre el Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón," in Revista de Filología Española, XVI (1929), 225-266.

Further proof, added to that of Bataillon (Item 37) that Alfonso wrote the Mercurio y Carón. Also, a brief discussion of the work, and especially of its debt to Erasmus.

88. _____, ed., Juan de Valdés. Diálogo de la lengua, Madrid, 1928.

Especially helpful for its introduction (pp. IX-LXVI). Bibliography, pp. 217-22.

89. Muñoz y Soliva, Trifón, Historia de la muy N. L. e I. ciudad de Cuenca y del territorio de su provincia y obispado, 2 vols,, Cuenca, 1866-1867.

A comprehensive history, starting back in ancient times. See II, pp. 649-51 for a hopelessly confused sketch of Juan Alonso Valdés, in which the author relies on Llorente for his misinformation.

90. Paz y Melia, Antonio, "Otro erasmista español: Diego Gracián de Alderete," in Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, V (1901), 27-36, 125-139, 608-625.

Based on the letters of Gracián de Alderete (Item 2). This collection of letters is extremely valuable for the history of the Erasmian movement in Spain.

91. Pérez Pastor, Cristóbal, La imprenta en Toledo. Descripción bibliográfica de las obras impresas en la imperial ciudad desde 1483 hasta nuestros días, Madrid, 1887.

Has some data on Miguel de Eguía.

92. Perry, Janet H., ed., Diálogo de las Lenguas, by Juan de Valdés, London, 1927.

"This title, Diálogo de las Lenguas, has been chosen instead of the more usual Diálogo de la Lengua, because this is the actual heading of the manuscript in the British museum which is here reproduced" (p.23). Introduction, pp. 1-22 on life of Juan. Not very carefully done. Reviewed unfavorably by José Montesinos in Rev. Fil. Esp., XVI (1929), 289-295.

93. Pfandl, Ludwig, "Das spanische Lutherbild des 16ten Jahrhunderts," in Historisches Jahrbuch (Munich), L (1930), 464-497; LI (1931), 47-85.

For a general background of the reform movement in Spain, including the early reformers, among them the Valdés brothers.

94. Rújula y de Ochotorena, José de, Índice de los colegiales de San Ildefonso y menores de Alcalá, Madrid, 1946.

Long (931 pp.) alphabetical list of "fellows" at Alcalá and their school of study. Includes some of Juan's contemporaries, but neither of the Valdés brothers is listed.

95. Schinosi, Francesco, Istoria della compagnia di Giesú appartenente al Regno di Napoli. Parte prima, Naples, 1706.

Refers to Valdés' flight from Spain on charges of heresy. Author, a Jesuit, was professor of grammar and humanities, and later rector at Naples. This work covers the years 1538 to 1585.

96. Schlatter, Wilhelm, Die Brüder Alfonso und Juan de Valdés. Zwei Lebensbilder aus der Geschichte der Reformation in Spanien und Italien, Basel, 1901.

Part I, pp. 10-79 on Alfonso; Part II, pp. 79-235 on Juan. On Juan the author devotes two chapters to his Spanish career, of which one chapter is an analysis of Alfonso's Mercurio y Carón. The remaining nine chapters deal with Juan's Italian life and writings. Generally follows Caballero and Usoz for his narrative of events, and repeats their mistakes.

97. Serrano y Sanz, Manuel, "Francisca Hernández y el Bachiller Antonio de Medrano. Sus procesos por la Inquisición (1519 a 1532)," in Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, XLI (1902), 105-139.

Analysis of these two procesos, with copious quotations. Especially good for iluminists in general and Francisca in particular.

98. _____, "Juan de Vergara y la Inquisición de Toledo," in Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, V (1901), 896-912; VI (1902), 29-42, 466-486.

Analysis of the lengthy Vergara proceso; for complete references to Valdés one must go to the original (Item 4). In his analysis of the deposition of Juan de Medina the author neglects to mention a marginal notation in the original to the effect that this particular testimony came from the Valdés proceso.

99. _____, "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, iluminado alcarreno del siglo XVI," in Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, VIII (1903), 1-16, 126-139.

These two articles are an analysis of the Inquisition's case against Alcaraz from 1519 to 1529, based on the original proceso (Item 3). This proceso is the only source of our information on Valdés' service in the household of the Marqués de Villena at Escalona.

100. Solana, Marcial, Historia de la filosofía española. Época del Renacimiento: (Siglo XVI), 3 vols., Madrid, 1941.

See I, pp. 407-428 on the Valdés brothers, which includes a brief analysis of some of Juan's Italian writings.

101. Stern, Eugène, Alfonso et Juan de Valdés, Strasbourg, 1869.

A doctoral thesis at the Univ. of Strasbourg. Author writes from a Protestant viewpoint, but shows marked caution and uses ample documentation. Stern is the only 19th century author who maintains, correctly, that Juan and not Alfonso wrote the Mercurio y Carón.

102. Torre y del Cerro, Antonio de la, "La Universidad de Alcalá. Datos para su historia. Cátedras y catedráticos desde la inauguración del Colegio de San Ildefonso hasta San Lucas de 1519," in Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, XX (1909), 412-423; XXI (1909), 48-71, 261-285, 405-433.

A very good series of articles on the early days of Alcalá, well documented with original source material. Particularly useful for data on Valdés' contemporaries at Alcalá and for the members of his examining commission of 1529.

103. _____, "La Universidad de Alcalá. Estado de la enseñanza, según las visitas de cátedras de 1524-1525 a 1527-1528," in Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal, 3 vols., Madrid, 1925, III, 361-378.

Also useful for Alcalá data, although not so comprehensive as Item 102.

104. Urriza, Juan, La preclara facultad de artes y filosofía de la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares en el siglo de oro, Madrid, 1941.

Useful for statistical data on Juan's contemporaries at Alcalá. Suffers somewhat from occasional misprints and errors in index.

105. Usoz y Río, Luis, ed., Reformistas antiguos españoles, 21 vols., Madrid, 1855-1863.

Collection of the works of various reformers, including several of the writings of Valdés.

106. Wiffen, Benjamin B., Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés, Otherwise Valdesso, Spanish Reformer in the Sixteenth Century, London, 1865.

Wiffen, Boehmer, Caballero and Usoz were four of the leading biographers of Valdés in the 19th century. The above work includes an English translation by John T. Betts of Valdés' Ciento y diez consideraciones.
A useful summary and review can be found in the Princeton Review, XLII (1870), 377-400.

107. Wilkens, C. A., Spanish Protestants in the Sixteenth Century, London, 1897.

Trans. and condensed by Rachel Challice from the author's Die Geschichte des Spanischen Protestantismus im Sechszehnten Jahrhundert, Gutersloh, 1888. Very pro-Protestant and subjective. Deals with Spanish Protestants as martyrs for the true faith. Chap. VIII, pp. 65-72 on Juan, whom the author describes as a Lutheran hero. Deals entirely with Juan's life in Naples.